

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

UNDER

HENRY THE FOURTH

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BY

JAMES HAMILTON WYLIE, M.A.

One of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools

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PREFACE TO VOL. IV

IN taking leave of a period of history that has occupied my leisure thoughts during the last twenty-five years, I feel that I have been able to add but little to our general knowledge of the time, though I have endeavoured to explore all sources from which fresh light might have been expected. One important field, however, has been left almost untouched, *viz.*, the Bishops' Registers, which are preserved in various Cathedral cities throughout the country, the examination of which I have been reluctantly obliged to leave to others.

In a work containing such a crowd of details I am conscious that there are many mistakes, some of which I had intended to correct in a separate list. But this volume has already exceeded its destined length, and I can only promise that, if a second edition should ever be called for, I will do my best to remove these blots so far as they have come to my knowledge.

Most of my critics have found fault with the book for its over-minuteness, but I shall be repaid if it should ultimately prove of service to some coming historian, who may find its facts of value while dealing more broadly with the great underlying issues of a revolution era which fixed a new dynasty on the throne of England.

Others have been irritated at the introduction of archaisms into the text. For this, however, I remain impenitent, in the belief that the very words and phrases in which our forefathers clothed their thoughts are as well deserving of study as their habits, dress or monuments, and that there is no better way of

helping to preserve them than by bedding them out in the pages of a book which attempts to deal with the forgotten life of a past generation as a whole.

Several extracts from unpublished documents are printed as *Appendices*, with a view to indicating the kind of material that the student of English mediæval history may find in abundance among the unindexed treasures of the Public Record Office.

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MSS. (UNPUBLISHED) REFERRED TO IN VOLS. I. IV.

ALL CONTEMPORARY.

(a) *In Public Record Office* :—

- [**Pat.**] **Patent Rolls**, 1-14 Henry IV. (*all consulted*). For printed catalogue containing a few selected abstracts see Cal. Rot. Pat.
- [**Cl.**] **Close Rolls**, 1-14 Henry IV. (*all consulted*).
- Issue Rolls of the Exchequer (Pells)**, 1-14 Henry IV. Two half-yearly Rolls (Easter and Michaelmas) for each year (*all consulted*). A few extracts printed by F. Devon.
- Receipt Rolls of the Exchequer (Pells)**, 1-14 Henry IV. Two half-yearly Rolls (Easter and Michaelmas) for each year (*all consulted*).
- Pipe Rolls**, *i.e.*, Sheriffs' Accounts according to counties, very bulky (*occasionally consulted*).
- [**Q. R. Army.**] **Queen's Remembrancer's Accounts** (*all consulted*). A few extracts printed in Vol. IV., App. G, pp. 248-258.
- [**Q. R. Household.**] (*All consulted*.) Extracts in Vol. IV., App. F, p. 247.
- [**Q. R. Wardrobe.**] (*All consulted*.) Extracts in Vol. IV., App. B, E, F, pp. 193-218, 230-246.
- [**Lanc. Pat.**] **Patent Rolls of Duchy of Lancaster.**
- [**L. T. R.**] **Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer—Enrolled Wardrobe Accounts** (*all consulted*). Extracts in Vol. IV., App. C, pp. 219-228.
- [**Duc. Lanc. Rec.**] **Duchy of Lancaster Records** (*all consulted*). Extracts in Vol. IV., App. A, pp. 157-192.
- Duchy of Lancaster Records—Chancery Miscellanea** (*all consulted*).
- [**For. Accts.**] **Foreign Accounts** (*all consulted*).

References.

- Privy Seals**, frequently duplicates of entries in Close and Patent Rolls (*consulted for last half of the reign only*).
- Exchequer Treasurer of Receipt Miscellanea** (*all consulted*). Extracts in Vol. IV., App. D, p. 229.
- [**Roy. Let.**] **Royal Letters**, Box 15 (*all consulted*).
- [**Transcr. For. Rec.**], *i.e.*, *verbatim* Transcripts of Records in European Archives (*all consulted*).
- [**Rot. Fr.**] **French Rolls** (*all consulted*). Catalogue in T. Carte.
- [**Rot. Vasc.**] **Gascon Rolls** (*all consulted*). Catalogue in T. Carte.
- [**Rot. Viag.**] **Rotulus Viagii**, supplementary to Patent Rolls (*all consulted*).
- [**Rot. Scot.**], all printed *verbatim* in Rotuli Scotiæ.
- Cartæ Regum**, or Great Coucher Book. See Vol. IV., p. 121, note 1.

(b) In British Museum :—

- Add. MSS. Additional Manuscripts**, 24062 A (*i.e.*, Hoccleve's Omnegadrum). See Vol. II., Preface.
- Add. Chart. Additional Charters.**
- Cotton MSS. Caligula, D.**, etc.
- Harleian MSS. 431. John Prophet's Register**, containing State Papers chiefly relating to Council of Pisa (1408-1409). See Vol. III., p. 295, note 4; p. 351, note 3.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND UNDER HENRY THE FOURTH.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

TANNENBERG.

A FEW pages may be devoted here to tracing the course of the negotiations with the Hanse Towns. In a previous chapter¹ I have shown that, in the winter of 1405, a short truce was arranged, in order to allow of a meeting at Dordrecht on May 1st, 1406, to discuss the claims for damages put forward on both sides. All who had grievances proceeded to state them in writing,² and it looked as though a serious effort would be made to arrange a final settlement. But the English were in no hurry, and their Treasury was too low to spare its nobles in making amends for the misdeeds of the past. On Mar. 10th, 1406,³ the English envoys, Esturmy and Kington, sent letters to the Copman at Bruges,⁴ the Consuls at Lübeck and the High

¹ Vol. II., chap. XL. ² MENTEITH, I., 192, dated June 28th, 1406. Cf. Vol. II., p. 393, note 5. ³ HR., v., 234, 284; HARLUYT, I., 155. For a good abstract of these transactions, see KOPPMANN in HANSISCHE GESCHICHTSBLÆTTER, 1883, pp. 124-137; *ibid.*, 1887, p. xiv., refers to the coming publication of a group of documents from COTTON MSS. referring to 1407. ⁴ For the Hanse factory at Bruges, see ZIMMERN, 165-168. In TRANSCR. FOR. REC. (LILLE), 143-4, is a document headed :— C'est li ordenance de tenir la hanse con apiele Hanse de Londres et entre ceux de Bruges, with a list of 24 Flemish towns as members, and a common hutch (une huge a III. cles). For the Koepman van der duschen Hense yn dem ryke van Engeland, see LAPPENBERG, II., 103, 112.

Master at Marienburg, informing them that they had reached London too late to make it possible for them to be ready for a meeting so early as the 1st of May, and suggesting a postponement to the 1st of August instead.¹ Their letters were carried to Midduelbrg by a merchant, and were received at Bruges on April 5th, 1406.² Lübeck did not get its copy till April 29th,³ and sent at once to the High Master for advice.

In the meantime, the German representatives were well on their way, hoping to get a guarantee for payment secured by the citizens of London, York, Colchester, and Lynn,⁴ but if this could not be, they were to be content with the King of England's unsupported word. The envoys from Revel, Riga, and Dorpat got to Lübeck in plenty of time. Here they were joined by their colleagues for Lübeck and Stralsund, and all rode along together on their way to Dordrecht. They arrived at Hamburg on April 23rd,⁵ but while they were waiting for safe-conducts from the Bishop of Bremen, they heard that the meeting was to be postponed. Returning to Lübeck, they met the representatives from Thorn, Elbing, and Danzig on May 6th; and we may picture their indignation against the English, who had been described as a perverse nation, lost to all honesty and truth, and steeped in trickery, treason, and venomous lies.⁶

Nevertheless, they swallowed their vexation, accepted the inevitable, and all assembled at Dordrecht, as requested, in the first week of August,⁷ only to find other letters from the King of England,⁸ asking them to be so kind as to postpone the day again. A representative of the High Master, Hermann Cursor,⁹ had been over in London negotiating; and on June

¹ HAKLUYT, I., 155. ² HR., v., 235. ³ *Ibid.*, 237. ⁴ *Ibid.*, 233, April 16th, 1406. ⁵ *Ibid.*, 240. ⁶ *Ibid.*, 185. ⁷ *Ibid.*, 259; KUNZE, 210. ⁸ HR., v., 251; KUNZE, 206. ⁹ ISS. RÖLL, 7 H. IV., PASCH., May 18th, 1406.

4th, 1406,¹ six Commissioners had been appointed on the English side with full authority to deal with all complaints arising out of the existing disturbed relations; and when an extra tax of 1s. in the £ was laid upon foreign traders on June 19th, 1406,² the Hanse merchants were expressly exempted from the impost.

Yet, with all this apparent zeal and friendliness, the English King and his Commissioners³ had asked for a further postponement of the Dordrecht meeting till March 1st, 1407. The Hanse envoys replied on Aug. 17th, that they would wait till the end of the month, but no longer; and in the meantime they repaired to The Hague, where they arrived on Sunday, Aug. 22nd. On Sep. 18th came another letter from King Henry, in which, after "very many words,"⁴ he said that he had been away,⁵ that his Council was to blame for the delay since Aug. 1st, and asking for a later day yet.

"For the sake of peace" they offered to wait till Nov. 1st; but news soon came in that five ships, belonging to Lübeck, Prussia, and Livonia, had been seized by the English at Ostend; and on Sep. 22nd, they sent one of their number, Arndt von Dassel, across to London, to demand redress to the amount of £493 9s. 1d. The rest of them waited at Dordrecht till Nov. 1st.⁶ On Nov. 3rd,⁷ they wrote from Amsterdam that Dassel had not returned, that no English had appeared at Dordrecht, and what were they to do? King Henry, in the meantime,

¹ PAT., 7 H. IV., 1., 9 d; KUNZE, 193; ROT. PARL., III., 574. In PAT., 8 H. IV., 1., 32 d (Feb. 12th, 1407), the names of the Bishop of Ely and Doctor Thomas Field are substituted for Hugh Burnell, Rickhill, and Hankford because they were too far away and otherwise occupied. ² ROT. PARL., III., 578; Vol. II., p. 430. ³ For their letters dated June 20th and 26th, 1406, see NERO, B. II., 23 a. c. ⁴ Mangh vele worden.—HR., v., 261. ⁵ *I.e.*, at Lynn, seeing Philippa off.—Vol. II., p. 448. ⁶ HAKLUYT, I., 175. ⁷ HR., v., 262.

wrote from Westminster on Nov. 2nd,¹ that matters were complicated by the new claims, but that he hoped to send somebody to meet them before Christmas; and this was subsequently altered into a proposal for a meeting somewhere in Holland in March, 1407.² Then, at length, their patience snapped. Here they had come all this long way, at great cost and risk, only to turn the whole Hanse into scorn and contempt.³ The Londoners were boasting that the Hansers could not do without them,⁴ but they would stand no more of this delay. They would bring these English to honesty⁵ by the help of the Duke of Burgundy, who, after his futile attempt to capture Calais,⁶ had secretly sent some of the senators (*Olderluden*) of Bruges to the German Copman⁷ there, offering his help to the Hanse towns, if they would definitely break with England.

In the meantime, the sheriffs in England had been directed to see that injuries done to Prussian traders should receive prompt redress.⁸ Twenty-six herring-boats from Holland and Zealand, with crews amounting to 400 men, which had been run into Yarmouth, were released on Nov. 13th, 1406,⁹ and arrests were ordered in Lynn and Hull,¹⁰ as an earnest of sincerity. On Sep. 3rd, 1406,¹¹ two Hull merchants were adjudged to pay 500 nobles to the Prussians; and even the redoubtable John Hawley of Dartmouth actually endured six weeks' im-

¹ HR., v., 258. ² *Ibid.*, 266. ³ Mit groten kosten und eventuren . . . ummevonet to vorvange hoen und vorachtunge der gemenen hense.—*Ibid.*, 284. ⁴ *Ibid.*, 374; HIRSCH, DANZIG, 105; POL. SONGS, II., 171. ⁵ Tzu redelicket.—HR., v., 278. ⁶ Vol. III., p. 62. ⁷ For his report, dated May 19th, 1407, see HR., v., 288. ⁸ For payments to messengers, see ISS. ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH., Aug. 14th, 1406. ⁹ CLAUS., 8 H. IV., 34. ¹⁰ PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 24, 33 (May 8th, 19th, 1406); *Ibid.*, 2, 10 (July 28th, 1406), records that the Master of the Falcon of Sandwich has been arrested for capturing the Christopher of Greifswald, and will be brought before the Commissioners on Oct. 14th, 1406. ¹¹ CLAUS., 7 H. IV., 3.

prisonment in the Tower in his old age.¹ On Nov. 14th, 1406,² fresh commissions were made out to Esturmy and Kington, authorising them to arrange another day and place with the High Master and the Hanse Towns. On Feb. 24th, 1407,³ Esturmy left England for Dordrecht, bearing a letter of explanation to the German Knights, which he presented at Marienburg on April 11th.⁴ But he found that the High Master, Conrad of Jungingen, had just died,⁵ and that no definite answer could be given till a Hanseday⁶ had been held.

On Ascension Day (May 5th)⁷ the representatives of 22 towns met at Lübeck. John van Leykinthuwer, secretary to the Duke of Burgundy, and John Valebrecht⁸ were present on behalf of the Duke, and offered the whole power of France to the League if they would join in an attack on England. But Bremen and Hamburg were threatened by the Vitaliens,⁹ a brotherhood of pirates from Mecklenburg, who had established a trade in plundering on the North Sea coasts, and the Hansers thought it no time to be running further risks. Moreover, the Over-Spittler, Werner von Tettingen,¹⁰ who acted as vicegerent till the appointment of a

¹ For order for his committal, dated Dec. 15th, 1406, see CLAUS., 8 H. IV., 29. He was released Feb. 4th, 1407.—*Ibid.*, 23, where he is called John Hawley senior. ² RYM., VIII., 458; repeated Feb. 16th, 1407 (*Ibid.*, 466, 468; FR. ROLL, 8 H. IV., 16), which shows that Esturmy was just starting for Prussia. ³ ISS. ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH. (July 9th, 1408), has payments to him for his expenses ad partes Alemanniæ from Feb. 24th, 1407, to July 6th, 1407, and from July 27th, 1407, to Nov. 14th, 1407. ⁴ HAKLUYT, I., 176. ⁵ He died March 30th, 1407.—HIRSCH, III., II, 288, 483; HR., v., 266; CARO, III., 266; KUNZE, 213. For his previous illness, see Vol. II., p. 450. For his coins and those of his brother Ulrich, see VOSSBERG, 106, 120, and Plates v., VI. ⁶ LAPPENBERG, 27. ⁷ Called May 15th, 1407, in HR., v., 283, 290; HIRSCH, DANZIG, 102. ⁸ HR., v., 292, 305, 306, shows that they had travelled by Hamburg, and had been heard at Lübeck before May 18th, 1407. ⁹ HR., v., XVII.; A. S. GREEN, I., 90; ZIMMERN, 126-130; HÜFLER, RUPR., 322. ¹⁰ For his letter dated from the Castle of Holland, near Elbing, April 17th, 1407, see HR., v., 282. In 1390 he was Commander of Christburg, and presented Henry with a courser.—DERBY ACCTS., 105.

new High Master, had already renewed the treaty with England, and nominated his deputies¹ to treat with King Henry's envoys at Dordrecht on Aug. 1st. So, on June 3rd,² the Diet at Lübeck decided to give up the Duke of Burgundy. On June 26th, 1407,³ Ulrich of Jungingen, Commander of Balga,⁴ was appointed to succeed his brother as High Master; and on June 28th,⁵ the Hanse envoys proceeded to Amsterdam for the conference. Some of them went down to Ghent,⁶ made their excuses to the Duke of Burgundy, and, after a civil reception, rejoined the rest in Holland.

The English had proposed to meet them either at Dordrecht or Utrecht.⁷ Esturmy was back in London by July 6th,⁸ and on the 20th and 22nd⁹ of the same month credentials were renewed for himself and Kington. He left England again on July 27th,¹⁰ and arrived at Middelburg on July 30th.¹¹ On Aug. 1st, he sent a message to Bruges, stating that his colleague was coming shortly by Calais, and that it would be better not to meet at Dordrecht, but somewhere else, and asking the Hansers to meet him at Delft on Sunday, Aug. 7th. Instead of this, they met him at Rotterdam,¹² agreed to his suggestions as to the change of place, and when Kington at length arrived, the long-delayed negotiations actually began at The Hague on Aug. 31st, 1407.¹³

¹ April 20th, 1407.—HR., v., 282. ² *Ibid.*, 300; HIST. MSS., 5th REPT., 443. ³ ART DE VER., III., 543. ⁴ Komthur zu Balge.—HR., v., 131. For Comaundour, see DERBY ACCTS., 94, 324; or "Comthur."—PRUTZ, XI., 88; Commendator Wigand, in PRUTZ, XIV. ⁵ HR., v., 327; KUNZE, 213. ⁶ HR., v., 330, 373; ITIN., 360. ⁷ HR., v., 305. ⁸ Vol. IV., p. 5, note 3; ISS. ROLL, 10 H. IV., PASCH., July 2nd, 1407. ⁹ RYM., VIII., 492, 494; SILFVERSTOLPE, I., 659-663; ISS. ROLL, 8 H. IV., PASCH., July 15th, 1407, has payment to them (£50 each) for journey. ¹⁰ FOR. ACCOUNTS, 8 H. IV. has payment to Esturmy from July 27th, 1407, and to Kington from Aug. 3rd. Both were back in Gloucester by Nov. 14th, 1407. ¹¹ HR., v., 373. ¹² *Ibid.*, 330. ¹³ Vol. II., p. 85; HAKLUYT, I., 155, 157; KUNZE, 219.

Burgomasters were present from Danzig, Hamburg, Stralsund, Lübeck, Greifswald, and Kamp. Claims and counter-claims were discussed and referred to London, with expectation of a final settlement before Easter next, and a long list of them, with details and trademarks of the claimants, is still preserved in the British Museum.¹ The English said that all their documents had been lost at sea with Brampton in 1405,² but the Hansers soon found that they had only lost those that told against them. At the end of October³ the English envoys returned home to appear before the Parliament which was sitting at Gloucester;⁴ and Arndt von Dassel also crossed to England again. Dassel arrived in London just as the Parliament was breaking up.⁵ He posted down to Gloucester, and had an interview with the King, who told him that, *lief or loth*,⁶ he meant to be friends with the High Master and the Hansestedn,⁷ who had been amongst the first to send good wishes to him on his accession;⁸ that he had the Parliament at his will;⁹ and that England would give him about 200,000 nobles that very year in three payments.¹⁰ He would be in London after Christmas, when the Council would meet, and he would then give a final answer. Kington also reported that he had

¹ KUNZE, 215, 320. ² Vol. II., p. 77. ³ For a letter from them dated at The Hague, Oct. 20th, 1407, see KUNZE, 310. ⁴ Vol. III., p. 114. ⁵ *I.e.*, about Dec. 2nd, 1407.—Vol. III., p. 121. For a letter of his, dated London, Dec. 26th, 1407, see HR., v., 394. ⁶ “Wenn leef wenn let.” Cf. “Al be him loth or leef.”—CHAUC., KNIGHT, 1839. “Be him lief or be him loth.”—GOWER, CONF., 71, 109, 126, 138, 183, 184, 197, 226, 307, 317, 331, 374, 443. “Leef nor loth.”—CHAUC. (S.), I., 277; II., 353; III., 139. “Leefer ne lother.”—*Ibid.*, III., 71. ⁷ HAKLUYT, I., 185; HIST. MSS., 11th REPT., APP. III., p. 171; LAPPENBERG, II., 103. Though he was at the time coquetting by means of presents of scarlet cloth and crimson and murrey ingrain, with their enemies, Jagellon, King of Poland, and his cousin, Vitold, Duke of Lettowe.—Q. R. GREAT WARDROBE, 48, APP. B. ⁸ POSILJE, 234. ⁹ Vol. III., p. 120. ¹⁰ Not that the English would pay that sum to the Hansers, as HR., v., 394.

more bother with Newcastle than with any other town, and that he had not yet made up his mind as to a large claim for 22,000 nobles,¹ put forward by Riga and Dorpat; but he said that it would be all right,² and King Henry said the same. For he remembered how, in his gadling³ days,⁴ he went with 300 men⁵ to join the Marshal of the Order⁶ in a reyse⁷ against the Letts, and spent four weeks with him in a fruitless attempt to take the sacred city of Wilna,⁸ till their powder was all shot

¹ HR., v., 430. ² Id sulle al gud werden. ³ CHAUCER (S.), I., 132. ⁴ KNIGHTON, 2737; WALS., II., 197; CAPGR., DE ILLUSTR. HENR., 99; MALVERN, 243; HAKLUYT, I., 122; KOJALOWITZ, II., 18, where he is called filius regis Angliæ; HIRSCH, II., 642, 792; III., 164. PAULI, in MONATSBERICHTE DER K. PREUSS. ACAD. D. WISSENSCHAFTEN, 1857, pp. 406-417, from DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 1, 6; DEP. KEEP., 30th REPT., p. 35. KINGSTON'S Compotus shows that the ships were towed from Boston to Chopchire (?) July 12th, 1390; that the whole party set sail on July 22nd, landed at Leba Aug. 9th, halted at Danzig and Königsberg, then moved up the Pregel to Insterburg; crossed "the Wilderness" (die Wiltnisse.—POSILJE, 165; *i.e.*, the Graudenwald.—DERBY ACCTS., XXIX.; PRUTZ, XIII., XIX., LXII., 47, 48, 50) to Ragnit; defeated the Letts on the Memel (Aug. 28th); besieged Wilna from Sept. 11th to Oct. 7th; returned to Königsberg by Oct. 20th, bringing five pueros domini de Littowe (DERBY ACCTS., XXXI.); left Königsberg Feb. 9th, 1391; reached Danzig Feb. 15th, whence they sailed after Easter, May 26th. They landed at Hull, April 25th, and Henry made his way to Bolingbroke, April 30th, 1391.—(DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 3, 4, APP. A.) The accounts include payments for stoups of wine, nuts, biscuits and belechere or *pourboire*. They took a cow with them for milking, paid for fiddlers and minstrels, and enjoyed their Christmas as if they had been at home. The account has just been published (1894) for the Camden Society by MISS L. T. SMITH, and partially (1893) by PROF. H. PRUTZ for the Verein f. die Geschichte d. Provinzen Ost-u-Westpreussen.—DUC. LANC. REC., XI., II, 15, 126, 127, March 17th, 1412, refers to "nrē voiage es parties de Pruce." There seems no reason to attribute to the journey a "semi-diplomatic character," as PRUTZ, XXXVI., XLI., LXVI. ⁵ DERBY ACCTS., XXII., XLV.; PRUTZ, LVIII. ⁶ *I.e.*, Engalhard Rabe.—DERBY ACCTS., XXIX., 50; PRUTZ, XXXIX., LXI., 48. ⁷ For "la rese de Pruse" see LANNOY, 13, 14, 15, 16; DERBY ACCTS., XVIII.; PRUTZ, IX., XX. "Multas reysas et irruptiones." —BRANDO, 118, 159. "Rèse."—TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 99.

Cf. And make many hastif rodes,

Somtime in Pruse, somtime in Rodes.—GOWER, CONF., 193.

⁸ PRUTZ, LXIV.; DERBY ACCTS., XIX., XXX., CVI.; LANNOY (24) describes the castle as standing on a sand-hill surrounded with a wall of stones and earth. The town consisted of wooden houses and brick

off¹ and the coming winter drove them back to Königsberg ; how the High Master's physician tended him there in a bad illness ; how he spent Christmas at Königsberg, and the following Easter in Danzig, and how he returned again the next summer, ready for another reyse. He was, indeed, as he said, a "child of Spruce,"² and there was no land beyond sea that he would rather serve.

As long as Dassel remained in England no final determination could be taken,³ and the English were wily enough to play him where he was. On March 26th, 1408,⁴ the Council agreed that claims proved against English traders should be paid in three instalments. Prayers and other "wholesome remedies" were to be provided on both sides on behalf of the souls of the drowned ; the fur trade with Livonia was to be revived, and the past forgotten in a general "league of amity and renewal of love." Dassel was still in this country on March 31st, 1408,⁵ when he reported that he had done nothing yet. By April 19th, he had returned to Hamburg, where he advised that a Hanseday should be held at Lübeck, on May 1st. On July 7th⁶ he was at Marienburg, where the High Master, Ulrich, confirmed the contract signed at The Hague in the previous August. He then crossed back to England,⁷ and killed more time. Receivers were named who were authorised to take over any money that the English might

churches protected by bulwarks of wood ; the men had long hair streaming over their shoulders ; the women were simply dressed like Picard peasants, and the country was full of lakes and vast forests, filled with bears, wild dogs, wolves, hogs and stags. No stranger, if properly introduced, was allowed to pay anything for his keep.

¹ Nu was das pulver gar vorschossen.—POSILJE, 166 ; VOIGT, v., 547 ; DERBY ACCTS., xxxi. ² En Kint von Pruscen.—HR., v., 477, 492 ; CARO, III., 313. ³ HR., v., 388. ⁴ HAKLUYT, I., 176. ⁵ HR., v., 401. ⁶ *Ibid.*, 422. ⁷ Aug. 29th, 1408.—*Ibid.*, 430.

pay ; but they could not get any yet, and at the end of the year Dassel wrote from London ¹ that England would pay nothing at all, unless envoys of more importance than himself were sent over, and he feared that things would drag on for three years yet.

Kington had found out that his own powers were not so extensive as they had been when he was in Prussia and The Hague, and was hurt that he had received no letter of thanks from the High Master ; but he meant other thanks besides letters,² and Dassel thought it might be worth while to give him a cup and 20 nobles by way of honorarium. On January 13th, 1409, he wrote that the King was away from London,³ but had given him a letter to the Chancellor, who promised an answer when the Council met on the 20th. Then came the alarm that the King was dying at Greenwich, and it was feared that everything would be again postponed. But there was great distress in England owing to the failure of the crops.⁴ It was no time for quarrelling with the corn carriers,⁵ and the Hanse envoys were backed by the burgesses of Lynn, who were represented before the Council by John Brown, John Brandon ⁶ and others. The Town Clerk of Stralsund (Master Symon) arrived in London about the same time, to urge the claims of his town, and matters were still allowed to proceed.

It was, indeed, high time that something should be settled, for exasperation was sharpening into savagery, and reprisals were taking the place of reason and negotiation. The English traders, chiefly from Lynn, who had formed a factory ⁷ in

¹ HR., v., 438. ² Dat he anderen dank meynet dan mit breven to dankende.—*Ibid.*, 440. ³ *I.e.*, at Eltham.—Vol. III., p. 233. ⁴ Vol. III., p. 254. ⁵ CUNNINGHAM, I., 364. ⁶ They were in London Jan. 25th, 1409.—HR., v., 441. ⁷ For the Hanse factory at Bergen see ZIMMERN, 143.

Bergen,¹ were exposed to constant attack. The doors of their houses were battered in; their stock-fish,² which they had bought for export to England, were seized; and they themselves were robbed and beaten. Ninety-six Cromer and Blakeney men were captured by the Hansers in their fisherboats,³ off the island of Hitteröë,⁴ at the entrance of the Flekkefiord. Their hands and legs were tied together, and they were drowned knee-bent⁵ in the Vindefiord⁶ in six fathoms of water.

At a meeting held at Marienburg, on April 21st, 1409,⁷ two envoys, Dietrich von Logendorf, a burges of Danzig, and Lyffard von Herford, Burgomaster of Elbing,⁸ were appointed to represent the Order in England. Notices were sent to Hamburg, Riga and Cologne, that they would start at Whitsuntide, and Dassel was to have all ready for them on their arrival. They reached London on July 25th,⁹ and had an audience with King Henry at Westminster, on Aug. 15th.¹⁰ He received them very kindly, and handed their letters to the Archbishop of Canterbury as Chancellor. He then spoke to the Treasurer (Sir

¹ Called "Norbarñ in Norway."—FR. ROLL, 9 H. IV., 17. "Norbern."—HAKLUYT, I., 169. "Northbarñ."—FR. ROLL, 12 H. IV., 16; PRIV. SEAL, 651/6881. "Northberne."—RYM., VIII., 700; PRIV. SEAL, 652/6929-30; A. S. GREEN, I., 104; II., 404; HIST. MSS., 11th REPT., APP. III., 203; or "Berne."—RYM., VIII., 684, probably to distinguish it from Bergen in Flanders (*i.e.*, Mons).—LAPPENBERG, I., 39. For "Bergenfahrer" see HR., VI., 81. ² For Bergervisch see HR., V., 156; VI., 62. For "stocffysh," bought at Lynn in 1392 at 24s. the hundred, which had to be beetled with hammers, see DERBY ACCTS., 22, 80, 155, 341. ³ RYM., VIII., 745; KEUTGEN, 55. ⁴ "Ytro."—ADD. MSS., 24062, f. 150 b. ⁵ BURROWS, CINQ. PORTS, 76; A. S. GREEN, I., 412. Cf. Carrier's *noyades* or "deportation executed vertically" at Nantes, in CARLEY, FRENCH REVOLUTION, III., 188; THIERS, RÉVOLUTION, VI., 144. ⁶ Apud portum de Windford.—RYM., VIII., 723, 736. Called "Wayford" in GUTHRIE, II., 439; "Windfoerd."—ANDREWS, II., 13; possibly "Vindefiord," the northern inlet of the Bukkefiord, marked as "Quinsfiord" in map printed prælo Reusmeriano at Stockholm, A.D. 1526. For this reference I am indebted to my friend Dr. H. Colley-March of Rochdale. ⁷ HR., V., 456. ⁸ RYM., VIII., 664. ⁹ HR., V., 511. ¹⁰ Vol. III., p. 248, note 2.

John Tiptot), and said he would appoint four Lords of the Council to consider the question, and afterwards give his reply. On Aug. 18th¹ the Council decided that the Treasurer should see them. Speaking in the name of the King, the Prince, and the Council, he expressed a hope that the envoys would not be hard;² the first instalment should have been paid last Easter, but it had been overlooked (*vorsumet*), on account of the King's illness; and many other excuses, which the envoys thought too trivial to be worth reporting. The taxation³ would not come in, said Tiptot, till after Michaelmas, and even then not in money, but most of it in wool,⁴ which they would know, as business men, would take some time to convert into cash (*redem geldē*). He promised to pay, without fail, by next Candlemas (Feb. 2nd, 1410), but the envoys would not consent. He then begged them, with great earnest prayers (*mit groten ernstikin beden*), to agree to take half at Martinmas (Nov. 11th, 1409), and the rest at Candlemas; but they said they would wait 15 days after Michaelmas, and no more; and the question was adjourned for reconsideration by the King and the whole Council. After further delay they were asked to go down to see the King at Sutton,⁵ near Chiswick, which they describe as about seven English miles from London. The King, they were told, had spoken with his Council and with his son, the Prince, and pressed for further delay. Knowing the great love and friendship existing between the High Master

¹ ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 320. ² Van swarem herten.—HR., v., 478. ³ Tins rente unde kastume.—*Ibid.* ⁴ Sunder dat meistre deel an wulle. For sale of the King's wool at Aldeborn (? Aldebourne near Hungerford) to William Brakespeare, citizen of London, for £38 5s. od., in 1403, see DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, APP. A. ⁵ LYSONS, ENVIRONS, II., 186. It was frequently a halting-place for the King to break the journey from Windsor to London.—Q. R. WARDROBE, ⁵/₄, APP. B.

and the King and the Prince, they yielded all that was asked, on the understanding that the two remaining instalments should be promptly paid as soon as each Candlemas came round, that being the time when the English Treasury was best in funds,¹ and the King offered a bond for punctual payment, whether he were dead or alive. All these particulars the envoys reported in a despatch written in London on Saturday, Aug. 31st, 1409,² at which date we know that Dassel was also there borrowing eight nobles to keep him going.³

On Oct. 28th,⁴ a meeting was held at Marienburg, at which it was decided that all the envoys then in England should return together⁵ as soon as possible after Candlemas, 1410, bringing the first payment with them in gold. On Nov. 24th,⁶ Richard Merlaw, Mayor of London,⁷ Alderman William Askham, and Master John Kington, were authorised to treat with them, and on Dec. 4th⁸ a deed was signed by which the English King agreed to pay claims to the amount of £10,637⁹ to the subjects of Ulrich, and £153 to the citizens of Hamburg.¹⁰ The payments were to be spread over three years;¹¹ and it was stipulated¹² that no English coin should pass out of the country, all claims being settled by bills of exchange. Restitution was to be made by the rovers themselves, or the towns which had sheltered them,

¹ *Wend he in den tyden van dem jare best by gelde ewere.*—HR., v., 479. ² HR., v., 477. ³ *Ibid.*, 480. ⁴ *Ibid.*, 482. ⁵ RYM., VIII., 602, shows that they were still in England on Oct. 10th, 1409. ⁶ FR. ROLL, II H. IV., 18; RYM., VIII., 612, 664. ⁷ Vol. II., p. 110. ⁸ HAKLUYT, I., 180. ⁹ Not £40,000, as RAMSAY, I., 122. It represented about a third of the amount claimed by the Prussians, while the Livonians got nearly all they asked, and the Hansers next to nothing.—HANS-GESCH.-BL. (1883), p. 136. ¹⁰ FR. ROLL, II H. IV., 14, has 460 nobles, not 416, as RYM., VIII., 603; CUNNINGHAM, I., 376; FR. ROLL, II H. IV., 20 (Oct. 10th, 1409), has 15,955 nobles and 3s. 3d. due to Ulrich. ¹¹ RYM., VIII., 601, 603. ¹² DEVON, 316.

and there promised to be a large set-off of counterclaims,¹ made out by English traders for injuries received. The Exchequer Rolls show that £3555 13s. 4d.² was actually paid by England in two instalments, on Dec. 4th, 1409, and March 1st, 1410, and arrangements were made for a further sum which had fallen due on Feb. 2nd, 1410, to be paid in crowns on May 18th, at Bruges, at the rate of two crowns to the noble;³ but by May 8th it was found that sufficient crowns could not be got, and it was hoped that current Flemish money would do instead. But far greater difficulties were already in sight, and coming events had cast shadows before.

On Jan. 2nd, 1410,⁴ Logendorf and Herford had an audience with King Henry at Eltham,⁵ in the course of which they presented to him a letter from the High Master Ulrich, asking for help against the Poles. The King replied that he would gladly help in person, if only he had peace with France. But within a few days a herald arrived from the King of Poland. This was Jaroslaw of Givno,⁶ who had gone the round of the Courts of Europe with a series of complaints against the Order. After visiting Rupert at Heidelberg, and the Electors of Germany in their respective cities, he had made his way to Paris, and crossed at length to state his case to the King of England. He brought four stallions⁷ as a present to King Henry, and laid before him a paper, written in German, containing 12 complaints against the Knights, to bring them into big bad

¹ For 127 nobles received by John Brown of Lynn from Logendorf, Herford, and John Crolow, through German merchants, as his share of indemnity money, see HR., v., 492. ² *I.e.*, to Tedric, *i.e.*, Dietrich (or Theodoric, RYM., VIII., 663) Logendorp for Ulric von Jungingen.—ISS. ROLL, II H. IV., MICH.; cf. ORD. PRIV. CO., II, II. ³ See indenture between Logendorf and Henry le Scrope, the new Treasurer (Vol. III., p. 284), in HR., v., 491. ⁴ *Ibid.*, 492. ⁵ Vol. III., p. 284, note 1. ⁶ CARO, III., 312, 349. ⁷ For Polish horses see CARO, III., 240.

odour.¹ He told how one of them had been found with the wife of a boiar in Samogitia, and how the people of the place had killed him, and then the High Master had invaded without a formal defiance, and he asked for substantial help from England to repel him. Henry now showed this paper of complaints to Ulrich's envoys, who copied it, translated it into Latin, and wrote a reply to every article in it. At the bare idea of helping the Poles Henry laughed outright. He and the High Master were too good friends for that. Besides, he wanted corn for the present distress; ² and when the Germans had retired, he gave his answer to the Pole. "Dear mine," ³ said he, "I too have land elsewhere. If a knight or a squire of mine were found with another man's wife, should I risk my land for that? That is a false pretext!" ⁴—and Jaroslaw was non-plussed.

On July 15th, 1410,⁵ Ulrich fell fighting against a countless horde of Poles, Letts, Tartars, and other "rabid pagans"⁶ in the scrub and swamp of Tannenberg. The battle lasted from nine o'clock until five;⁷ of 700⁸ of the Knights who went into it, only 15 came out alive, and 60,000

¹ In een gros bose gherochte.—HR., v., 492. ² *Ibid.*, 494. ³ Lyber mynner. Cf. "My goode myn."—CHAUC. (S.), II., 275, 355. "O goodly myn."—*Ibid.*, 290. "Grisilde myn."—CHAUC., CLERK, 824I. "Dere suster myn."—CHAUC. (S.), III., 125, 155. "Lady myn."—*Ibid.*, 154. ⁴ Ich habbe och anderswore lant (probably Guienne and Ireland); ab eyn rytter odder eyn knecht by enes anderen mannes wyp ghevunden worte solde ich darumme myn lant vorleyesen. Das ist ene valsche hulfferette.—HR., v., 494. The incident is reported on the authority of John Schellendorff, who was present, and related it to Logendorf. ⁵ WALS., II., 284; NIEM, in MEIBOM, I., 14; CORNER, I., 1197; ART DE VER., II., 72; III., 543; ASCHBACH, I., 250; DLUGOSZ, XI., 238. The moon was said to have turned into blood with a red sword in her on the night of July 14th.—HIRSCH, III., 436; but there does not appear to have been any eclipse on that night.—ART DE VER., I., 78. ⁶ So called in the letter of Sigismund, dated Aug. 20th, 1410.—HIRSCH, III., 403. ⁷ HIRSCH, III., 437. ⁸ ST. DENYS, IV., 336; MONSTR., II., 76; or 600, as GOBELIN, 330.

of their followers fell with them.¹ Such an appalling disaster, by which the very flower of Christian knighthood was annihilated, required seasoning in contemporary Christian records. A writer,² who was in Marienburg at the time of the siege, had been told by two eye-witnesses who were present in the battle, that the Christians were outnumbered in the proportion of 9 to 1. The numbers under the command of the Polish King were guessed at anything from 1,200,000 to 5,000,000.³ It was said that they ate raw flesh,⁴ and sucked the blood from men and women; that when they picked up a child, they ate half of it, and threw the other half over their saddles till they were hungry again; and that although the knights were "suddenly overthrown,"⁵ yet they killed 130,000⁶ of them before they themselves perished. But all these fables are disposed of as the product of "lying lips and deceitful tongues," by letters⁷ written by Wladislas Jagiello, the victorious King of Poland, to his wife Anna,⁸ and to the Bishop

¹ JUSTINGER (205, 455) gives 500 knights and 100,000 followers; BRANDO (145), 800 knights et populares innumeri. TWINGER (II., 914) says 200,000 killed, and many taken prisoners. In the WISBY ANNALS (FANT, I., 37), 600 knights are killed with 20,000 followers. Cf. 40,000.—THORN ANNALS, in HIRSCH, III., 315, note to BRANDO, 112; 60,000.—NIEM, in MEIBOM, I., 14; 80,000.—STAINDEL, in HIRSCH, III., 418, 419. The writer of the History of Poland (? DANTON) in LARDNER, p. 108, doubts whether 50,000 could have been killed, for "How could a few monks (!) raise such an army?" ² HIRSCH, III., 405. ³ *Ibid.*, 418. For a sober estimate, including 30,000 Tartars, see CARO, III., 314. ⁴ CARO, III., 320. ⁵ Subito devicti.—NIEM, in MEIBOM, I., 14. ⁶ ST. DENYS, IV., 334; MONSTR., II., 76; or 80,000.—GOBELIN, in HIRSCH, III., 413. ⁷ *Ibid.*, 425; though the King himself could neither read nor write.—CARO, III., 258. A later Polish account says that the horses were up to their bellies in blood.—*Ibid.*, 440; CARO, III., 331. For a letter from the King of Poland, dated before Marienburg, feriâ tertiâ proximâ post Octavam Nativitatis Stæ. Mariæ, 1410, proposing to erect a Brigittine monastery in loco conflictus nostri quem cum Cruciferis de Prussia habuimus dicto *Grunnevelt* (*i.e.*, Grünfeld, a village near the battlefield), see WAZSTEN. DIAR., BENZELIUS, 197; CARO, III., 330. ⁸ For his marriage with her in 1402, see CARO, III., 227. She died Mar. 21st, 1416.—*Ibid.*, 475.

of Posen on the day after the battle, in which he states that on his side very few of the common people were killed, and not a single notable; but that on the side of the Knights countless numbers were killed or drowned as they were running away. To the charge of employing infidels and savages it was replied that all the Letts in the Polish army had lately been baptised;¹ that his Russians were all members of the Greek Christian Church;² that the number of Tartars was very few; while two-thirds of the Prussian followers of the Knights were actually heathens yet.³ At any rate, we know that the Poles heard Mass devoutly before the fight began, and went into it chanting the *Boga rodzyca*,⁴ an old Slav hymn to the Virgin, so that both sides should have been equally fortified with the protection of Heaven.⁵ But the Knights were out-generalled, and they paid for their folly dear.

The King of Poland pressed round Marienburg; but the fortress could provision 10,000 men for a year,⁶ and Henry of Plauen⁷ held it heroically for eight weeks,⁸ thereby saving the Order from utter destruction. On Nov. 9th, 1410,⁹ he was chosen High Master, and by the Peace of Thorn, signed on

¹ VOIGT, v., 495; DERBY ACCTS., xiv.; PRUTZ, xxxvii.; CARO, III., 216. Cf. "Crestiens nez nouvellement par la constraint."—LANNOY, 24. "Cristen mit dem mundt."—TWINGER, II., 913 ²LANNOY (19), who visited the King of Poland at Kalisz, in 1414, after Easter, and got a "very marvellous fine dinner." Wladislas told him that all Christian Kings had recognised him except the King of France.—LANNOY, 29; cf. CARO, III., 233, 294, 377. ³HIRSCH, III., 428. There were several English on the losing side.—BRANDO, 145. ⁴DLUGOSZ, XI., 254; HIRSCH, III., 437, 440; CARO, III., 318, 324. ⁵Utriusque partis Christianus erat exercitus.—BRANDO, 145. ⁶LANNOY, 13; HR., VI., I. ⁷Called Henry de Plauburg in Iss. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH., Feb. 23rd, 1412, where a payment to him of £666 13s. 4d. is entered. He is not to be confounded with the Reuss branch in Saxony. His brother Henry, Lord of Plauen, was Burgrave of Meissen in 1406.—VOSSBERG, 134. ⁸I.e., from July 25th (or 23rd, CARO, III., 345) to Sep. 19th, 1410.—HIRSCH, III., 7, 318. ⁹POSILJE, 324; CARO, III., 350.

Feb. 1st, 1411,¹ agreed to pay 100,000 schock² of groschen to the Polish King. But by no effort could this enormous sum be raised; and in the following year³ the Kings of France and England wrote to the Pope to use his influence with the King of Poland in mitigation of the terms. Prussia was indeed in the direst straits. The fields were untilled;⁴ the herrings turned westward and left the Baltic;⁵ the Vistula was flooded; the country was plagued with mice; the coinage was debased, and the Vitalians were on the seas.⁶ The High Master⁷ walked barefoot⁸ with processions to the churches to supplicate the help of Our Lady; monstrances, chalices, and other silver vessels were melted down or sold; but nothing could satisfy the demands of the victors. On Oct. 13th, 1413,⁹ Henry of Plauen was seized in the Marienburg¹⁰ by the Marshal and Commodores, deposed from his office, and kept a prisoner "full of impatience" at Englesburg,¹¹ near Thorn. Here he was visited "in his misery" by Gilbert Lannoy in March, 1414.¹² He was afterwards released; but his health was broken, and he died "of grief and envy" in 1416.¹³

Soon after his accession, he had duly ratified the Conven-

¹ POSILJE, 325; DOGIEL, IV., 84; HR., VI., 1; HIRSCH, III., 398; BRANDO, 146; ASCHBACH, I., 311; CARO, III., 351. ² VOSSBERG, 75; HR., VI., 1; CARO, III., 393, 396; cf. "scok" (= 60).—DERBY ACCTS., 75, 347, 352. ³ POSILJE, 328. For letter of Henry IV. to Pope John XXIII., dated Nov. 24th, 1410, de bello inter Poloniae regem et Henricum de Plawen, see CLEOP., E., II., 69. ⁴ POSILJE, 327, 329, 330, 331, 334. ⁵ HIRSCH, DANZIG, 42, 146. ⁶ LAPPENBERG, 39; HR., VI., 11. ⁷ On June 2nd, 1411, he was at Schlochau.—HR., VI., 19. ⁸ For "bar-foot" see Vol. II., p. 11, note 3, and WYCL. (M.), 25; (A.), I., 76; III., 457; CHAUC. (S.), III., 4, 157. ⁹ HIRSCH, III., 396; HR., VI., 149; LANNOY, 16; POSILJE, 335-338; CARO, III., 417. ¹⁰ Called Maryngburgh or Marreburgh in DERBY ACCTS., 330; PRUTZ, 208. For the Castle see PRUTZ, XXIV. ¹¹ VOSSBERG, 135. ¹² LANNOY, 28. ¹³ For figure of him from his monument in St. Ann's Chapel at Marienburg, see VOSSBERG,

tion of 1409 at Marienburg on Dec. 24th, 1410;¹ and his assent was accepted by King Henry on May 24th following.² An instalment had fallen due on Feb. 2nd, 1411; and on Feb. 22nd³ the money was in the hands of the Copman at Bruges, ready to be distributed between the towns of Thorn, Elbing, and Danzig, if they made good their claim to it before the coming Midsummer Day. But circumstances had altered cases. The Order was now crippled to death, and the English found it a good opportunity to reconsider their position.⁴ Conscientious scruples were aroused in London as to the propriety of sending English money to be paid over to the Infidels. of whose atrocities they had heard so much.⁵ A little inquiry would, of course, have satisfied them that the Poles and Letts were recognised members of the Christian Church; but they chose to take the Order at its word, and on the strength of the Infidel argument they repudiated their liability. Two envoys were already on their way from the Baltic to claim the expected payment. One of them, John Kavold of Danzig, reached London soon after Candlemas, but was told that he was "too small"⁶ for such a commission. His colleague, Henry Droste, had not arrived, and was waiting to see what his uncle and his brother said before he crossed. Then Droste was taken ill, and Kavold had to get on without him; so he went to the King, who

¹ KAL. AND INV., II., 81, has Dec. 20th. The original is still at Danzig, with the Great Seal of England attached.—HIRSCH, DANZIG, 39, 103.
² RYM., VIII., 666; not March, as CARTE, I., 202. PRIV. SEAL, 651/6880 (May 19th, 1411), forwards letter from Henry de Plawe (*sic*) to John Wakering, as Keeper of the Great Seal in the absence of the Chancellor, Thomas Beaufort, accepting agreement. ³ HR., VI., 3, where the rate is three marks Prussian to the £:—daz pfunt grote bezalen vor 3 mark unde 1 ferding (or Vierding) Prusch. ⁴ HIRSCH, DANZIG, 43. ⁵ HR., VI., 14; VOIGT, VII., 415. ⁶ Tho cleyne.—HR., VI., 15,

told him that the Council would meet at Easter, and that he should have an answer then. A fortnight after Easter¹ he went to Windsor and applied to the King again, who said that he would be in London shortly, and that in the meantime he must apply to the Council.² This he did many times, and was always told to come next day. At last he was called into the Council Chamber, and told that the King would write to the High Master. He was not satisfied, but said he must go before the King again. They said "so he might," but gave him no other answer. By this time Droste had crossed, and the two had an interview with Henry at Westminster on May 16th, 1411.³ The King told them that he had written his views in a letter to the High Master, in which he had said that the money would have been paid if a plenipotentiary had crossed in time; but that the death of Ulrich and the defeat of the Knights had raised doubts in his mind whether the Infidels might not seize the land that the Order was gradually converting; and it seemed better, on the whole, to keep English money for the defence of England. A more definite answer was promised, if the same or fresh envoys would come back about Michaelmas. Asked if there was no further message, the King said that there was nothing except thanks and greetings. So the envoys crossed to Bruges, where, on June 18th, 1411, they wrote a report of their proceedings to the Prussian towns, and asked for their approval. Friendliness was not likely to be promoted by the arrest of the Copman in England, which took place about this time;⁴ and a dispute as to excessive tolls charged at Southampton led to an order⁵

¹ *I.e.*, April 26th, 1411. ² Yk solde trecken vor synen rad.—HR., vi., 15. ³ *Ibid.*, 14. ⁴ On July 15th, 1411, a recess at Lübeck petitioned King Henry for his release.—*Ibid.*, 23. ⁵ Dated April 10th, 1412.—*Ibid.*, 64.

that no Hansers should visit that port till strict justice had been done. Nevertheless, in the beginning of the following year, Kavold and another Danziger, named John Basener, were commissioned to receive the balance of 10,637 marks, which formed the last two instalments, the latter of which would fall due at Candlemas, 1412. On April 2nd, 1412,¹ Basener acknowledged from Danzig that he had received 1600 nobles from the Treasurer of England; while 400 nobles more had been paid before June 8th of the same year,² with a promise that all should be paid off before the next Christmas; but by this time the claim against England had been swelled by 3605 nobles over and above the amount originally conceded; and a letter written by the High Master in 1412³ makes it clear that even the first instalment, due on Feb. 2nd, 1410, had never really been received. On Oct. 5th, 1412, fresh envoys were appointed. Whether they ever reached England we do not know; but the death of the English King and the deposition of the High Master put a stop to all chance of payment. On Jan. 12th, 1415,⁴ it is clear that every farthing of it was still due, and in subsequent negotiations⁵ the claim is not so much as mentioned.

¹ HR., VI., 45. ² *Ibid.*, 91. ³ *Ibid.*, 99. ⁴ HR., VI., 148. ⁵ *E.g.*, Dec. 2nd, 1416.—RYM., IX., 413; HR., VI., 441.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

SCUMMERS.

YET the experience was not wholly lost on the English Council, and in the spring of 1411 a determined effort was made to check the systematic piracy that was bringing England into constant entanglements with neighbours with whom her interests should have been all for peace. The difficulty of securing compensation by diplomatic negotiations had led to the issue of letters of marque, the holders of which were authorised to recompense themselves at their own risk for the losses which they had sustained from foreign pirates, the amount of value that each holder might recover being specified on the permit. In practice, of course, this limit would be nugatory, and the whole system was merely a stimulus to alternate outrage and retaliation.¹ The truce with Flanders would expire on June 15th, 1411;² and loud complaints were raised by the Flemings against these licensed plunderers. In the spring of 1411,³ a Flemish fishing-boat was captured off Sangatte; the herrings and the nets were seized, and the crew thrown into the sea. Some of them, however, swam ashore, and presented themselves at Calais stark naked, demanding satisfaction. Two of the most notable of these scummers⁴ and sea-thieves, to whom letters of marque had

¹ CUNNINGHAM, I., 280. ² Vol. III., p. 99. ³ Not 1410, as ORD. PRIV. Co., I., 356. ⁴ HIGDEN, IV., 175; FAB., 384. Cf. "scomer-fare."—GOWER, CONF., 423. For "pilour," "rover of the sea," "rovers and thevys," see *Ibid.*, 170; POL. SONGS, II., 164.

been allowed, were Sir John Prendergest of Cley,¹ and William Longe of Rye.² Both of them belonged to that respectable chameleon class who played the pirate or the patriot as occasion required,³ and Longe had represented Rye in the Parliament of 1410.⁴ Prendergest was plundering at large in the Channel,⁵ and had captured two ships carrying salt from Biervliet to Calais,⁶ while Longe had just seized a Florentine carack, with a cargo of Rochelle⁷ wine and iron, belonging to the Albertis,⁸ and towed it into Dartmouth. On March 21st, 1411,⁹ an order was issued for his arrest; but so little did he heed it, that, within a month after,¹⁰ he had pounced upon 11

¹ Vol. II., p. 387; CLAUS., 13 H. IV., 17, May 11th, 1412; OTT., 271. ² ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 355. ³ Cf. William Wilford of Exeter and John Brandon of Lynn.—Vol. I., pp. 386, 443. Brandon was highly respected in Lynn.—HIST. MSS., 11th REPT., APP. III., 224. Wilford was a wealthy citizen of Exeter, where his father Robert had been 12 times mayor between 1375 and 1395, and was buried in the Cathedral. William was M.P. for Exeter in 1411 (RETURN PARL., I., 276); Mayor in 1400, 1401, 1402, 1404, 1406, 1408, 1411, 1412.—STAFF. REG., 481. He owned shops, houses, and crofts, and had stores of timber in the Croll ditch at Southernhall, beneath the walls on the south-east side of the city (called “Coldich” in the Act of 1437, for the bounding of the Fee of St. Sydwell). He was part owner of a “barge” called the *Mary of Exmouth*, in which, no doubt, he had often cruised with profit. When times were quiet he lived with his wife Margaret and his son Robert in a house under the great elm trees near St. Petrock’s Church, carrying the Bishop’s robes on state days (STAFF. REG., 370), or discussing plans with his neighbour Simon Grendon for some new conduit or Godshouse.—*Ibid.*, 397; G. OLIVER, 403. He made his will on June 30th, 1413, and died July 11th, 1413 (IZACKE, 69), leaving £228 6s. 8d. For his will, proved Oct. 3rd, 1413, see STAFF. REG., 401. He was patron of the Church of East Ansty in North Devon (1406).—*Ibid.*, 165, where he is called *domicellus* (*i.e.*, *donzel*).—Vol. II., p. 447; or “sweire.”—CAPGR., 284. ⁴ RETURN PARL., I., 274. ⁵ PAT., 11 H. IV., 10 d (July 15th, 1410); RYM., VIII., 656. ⁶ CLAUS., 12 H. IV., 32, Nov. 18th, 1410. ⁷ For Rochelle wine, see Vol. II., 134; DERBY ACCTS., 10, 11, 14, 16, 165, 234, 359. ⁸ For the influence of Italian merchants, see ARCHÆOLOGIA, XXVIII., 235. In CLAUS., 14 H. IV., 12, Alexander di Albertis ships sacks, cloves, and pockets of wool from Sandwich. The clove=7 lbs.—STAT., II., 267. ⁹ PAT., 12 H. IV., 16 d. ¹⁰ Environ le jour de Seint George darrein passé; *i.e.*, April 23rd, 1411.—ADD. MSS., 24062, f. 148 b.

Flemish wine-ships from Rochelle, and brought them with their crews into Rye harbour. Strong protests at once followed from the Four Members,¹ and, as the Council had every motive to avoid a quarrel with the Duke of Burgundy, they at once instructed Admiral Beaufort to pursue and capture Longe with a “notable power of navy”;² while the Prince of Wales, as Constable of Dover, was required to arrest Prendergest, by an order dated May 3rd, 1411.³ On May 15th,⁴ £1000 was paid to Beaufort to enable him to effect the capture. The Chancellor-Admiral was absent from London from May 7th to June 18th.⁵ He soon came up with Longe on the high sea,⁶ and induced him to leave his ships and go to London, under promise that he should not be molested. But the promise was only kept to the ear; for on June 13th,⁷ an order was made out for his committal to the Tower, where he remained a prisoner for 18 months.⁸ He lost nothing, however, in the opinion of his fellow-townsmen, for he represented them again in four subsequent Parliaments in the following reign.⁹ Prendergest took sanctuary at Westminster,¹⁰ and as the precinct was often

¹ Vol. II., p. 80. For complaints against Longe and Prendergest, dated May 11th, 1411, see PRIV. SEAL, 651/6869. ² Ovec une notable pouair de navie.—ADD. MSS., 24062, f. 148 b. ³ CLAUS., 12 H. IV., 16 d. There is also an order for his arrest, dated April 15th, 1410, in PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 24 d. For indenture with him, dated April 24th, 1411, see FOR. ACCTS., 12 H. IV. ⁴ ISS. ROLL, 12 H. IV., PASCH. For references to advances for provisions for the voyage, see PAT., 12 H. IV., 8, May 12th, 1411. ⁵ PRIV. SEAL, 651/6859-6910, during which time John Wakering acted on his behalf.—Vol. IV., p. 19, note 2. ⁶ GOWER, CONF., 153. ⁷ CLAUS., 12 H. IV., 9. ⁸ The orders for his release are dated Jan. 24th and 28th, 1413.—CLAUS., 14 H. IV., 18; PRIV. SEAL, 657/7454. For his pardon, dated Feb. 14th, 1413, see PAT., 14 H. IV., 2. ⁹ *Viz.*, 1413, 1414, 1419, 1420.—RETURN PARL., I., 280, 285, 293, 296. ¹⁰ WALS., II., 285. “He was compelled to take Westminster.”—CAPGR., 299; cf. STANLEY, APP. V., 364. “Grete houses of religion, as Westmynstre, Beverle, and othere usen this pryvylegie that whatever thef or felon come to this holy hous of religion he schal dwelle there alle his lif, and no man enpeche hym thouz he owe pore men moche good

violated in those degenerate days, he put up his tent in the north porch of the Abbey, and set sentries to watch against surprises in the night. He was pardoned, Nov. 12th, 1411,¹ and the next year² was at his plundering again.

As a consequence of the prompt measures taken against the pirates, the treaty with Flanders was renewed for five years, to terminate on June 15th, 1416;³ but shipping was, as yet, by

and have ynouz to paye it. And thouz he robbe and slee every nyzt many men out of the fraunchise, and every day come azen, he schal be meyntheyned therto, *etc.*”—WYCL. (A.), III., 317; DE ECCL., 244. For sanctuary at Rye and Canterbury, see A. S. GREEN, I., 324, 337, 374. “In eche parische chirche a comyn thef and mansleere schal be resseyved 40 daies at the leste, and no lawe passe on hym to make restitution, *etc.*”—WYCL. (A.), III., 294, 316. “That theft, and ravening, and manslaying, and robbery be not maintained in sanctuary under colour of privilege.”—WYCL. (M.), 280; VAUGHAN, II., 292. In Feb. 1405, John Mot, who had stolen seven sheep and five lambs at Tortington, and a silver pendant from a girdle, claimed right of Holy Church on the steps of the graveyard at Arundel. He was expelled the kingdom, and was conducted to Southampton, with a cross carried before him as required by law (STAT., I., 250; DENTON, 185).—PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 23. In 1407 David Hardman violated a woman, and beat her about the head with a stick till she died. He escaped from prison, and took sanctuary in Hereford Cathedral. The result is not known.—PAT., 9 H. IV., 1, 6. In COLCHESTER RECORDS (32) is the oath of abjuration of a felon who has sought sanctuary. He must confess his crime to the coroner, “for swer the kyng’s lond of Inggelond, and haste me to the poort I am assygned, nat go owt of the highwaye and not byde there but an ebbe and a flood. I schal go every day yn to see up to my kneys, assaying for to pass,” and if he had not passage within 40 days he had to give himself up again to Holy Church.—Cf. MUN. ACAD., 702. For picture of an escaped prisoner flying to sanctuary, see JUSSERAND, 144, from MS., REG., 10 E., IV., B. M., also *Ibid.*, 152-166. For sanctuary at St. Martin-le-Grand, London, see ROT. PARL., III., 503; JUSSERAND, 424; LIB. ALB., I., 86, 93, 104; HOLT, 45. For Oxford, St. Mary’s, and St. Giles’, see OXF. CITY DOC., 171, 174, 189; for Durham and Beverley, SURTEES SOC., 1837; Faversham, E. WELFORD, 232; Rye and Canterbury, KITCHEN, 46, 75; Leominster, WEBB, CCXI.

¹ PAT., 13 H. IV., 1, 22; PRIV. SEAL, 7033. ² CLAUS., 14 H. IV., 2, 3 (Oct. 22nd, 1412), refers to a barge called *Le Sent Esprit de Newport* in Flanders, lately captured by Sir Robert Umfraville and Sir John Prendergest, now lying at Sandwich, and orders it to be given up to a messenger from Ypres. ³ RYM., VIII., 687-693, 751, 765, 767 (May 27th, 1411, *etc.*); VARENBERGH, 572-578; FR. ROLL, 12 H. IV. (July 12th, 1411); BRANDO,

no means safe. In Sep., 1411,¹ some Harfleur men entered Lymington harbour, and carried off a large passager² belonging to the Isle of Wight, with a freight valued at £2000, including packs of cloth, bales and sarplars³ of wool, and £254 in cash. A month or so afterwards, the Devon and Cornish men seized a Breton vessel called the *Notre Dame of Guérande*,⁴ and on May 5th, 1412,⁵ the *St. David of Quimperle*, with a cargo valued at £500, was seized in the Gironde by Dartmouth men, though the relations between England and Brittany were outwardly of the friendliest. On March 2nd, 1412,⁶ Admiral Beaufort was commissioned to hold an inquiry as to these breaches of the truce; but on the 10th of the same month⁷ fresh letters of reprisal were allowed to the men of Calais, to

148, 150. For proclamation of truce with Duke of Burgundy for two years from July 6th, 1411, see PAT., 12 H. IV., 14 (May 11th, 1411). In FR. ROLL, 13 H. IV., 9, conservators are appointed, the names being left blank. For reference to truce lately made between England and Flanders, see ISS. ROLL, 12 H. IV., PASCH., May 28th, 1411. For letters of Charles VI., dated Paris, June 9th, 1411, authorising extension for five years, see TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 143, 2, 6; 143, 3, from ARCHIVES DE LILLE. For letter from Sir Thomas Pickworth, dated Calais, Apr. 13th (? 1410 or 1411), to the Duke of Burgundy, announcing that King Henry had appointed him and J. Caterick and W. Walderne to negotiate, see *ibid.*, 143, 5, 105. For order dated July 27th, 1412, to proclaim recent treaty with Flanders, see PRIV. SEAL, 655/7294, 7296.

¹ *I.e.*, Monday before St. Matthew.—CLAUS., 13 H. IV., 36. ² *I.e.*, a coasting vessel. Cf. pro vj *passaiours* conductis de Caleys usque Douer.—DERBY ACCTS., 279, 352; BRANDO, 55. ³ *I.e.*, half a sack.—HALLIWELL, 705; cf. “sarpuler.”—CHAUC. (S.), II., 17. ⁴ “Garaunde” or “Arragunde.”—PAT., 13 H. IV., 2, 3, 7 d, 10 d, which shows that it was after Sep. 27th, 1411. ⁵ PAT., 13 H. IV., 1, 26; Aug. 25th, 1412, where the Englishmen are called James, William, and John Holhuit, William Madent, John Milnvie, and William Normant, all of Dartmouth and Fowey. ⁶ PAT., 13 H. IV., 2, 25 d; FR. ROLL, 13 H. IV., 15, Feb. 28th, 1412, shows that his lieutenant, Sir John Blount (Vol. III., p. 302), was crossing to arrange for infractions of the truce with the Duke of Brittany during the last five years. ⁷ FR. ROLL, 13 H. IV., 13. For letters of marque granted to Thomas Brown of Dartmouth against the French, to recompense him for his imprisonment at Caen, see *ibid.*, 21, Dec. 27th, 1411.

recoup themselves against French shipping, to the extent of 500 marks.

It is probably to this year (1411) that we must assign the escape of the French traveller, Gilbert de Lannoy.¹ He left Sluys for Spain in April,² the fleet consisting of 27 sail; but the ships were almost all lost at sea. Some were wrecked on the coast of Brittany, others on the English coasts, where the crews gave themselves up as prisoners. Lannoy himself in a small Florentine ship lay about in Southampton water for 15 days, when two large English armed vessels approached to capture them. But the wind favoured the strangers, and they got across to Harfleur six weeks after their first start from Sluys. Lannoy then went from Paris to Seville by land, and was present at the capture of Antequera after a six months' siege.

The itinerary for the year 1411 is more than usually puzzling. From it we might infer that King Henry spent the winter of 1410 at Lynn, and remained in the same neighbourhood till after Easter. But we know that in 1410 he held Christmas at Kenilworth,³ so that these East Anglian entries are only indications of the whereabouts of the Chancellor, Thomas Beaufort,⁴ who had large possessions at Wormegay, and probably found it convenient to direct the naval administration from the neighbouring town of Lynn. There are documents also dated from Bury St. Edmund's⁵ (Oct. 4th, 1410), Westhorpe,⁶ a few miles to the east of Bury (Oct. 4th, 1410; July 20th and Aug. 27th, 1411), Babraham⁷ near Cambridge (Jan. 28th, 1411), Thetford⁸ (July 28th), Ipswich⁹ (Sep.

¹ Vol. II., p. 169. ² 1408, according to his own dating, which is certainly wrong.—LANNOY, 7. Cf. Vol. II., p. 300, note 7. ³ Vol. III., p. 318. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 302. ⁵ PAT., 12 H. IV., 45. ⁶ *Ibid.*, 6 d., 45; CLAUS., 12 H. IV., 3 d. ⁷ CLAUS., 12 H. IV., 24 d. ⁸ *Ibid.*, 4 d. ⁹ *Ibid.*, 3 d.

6th), and Norwich¹ (Oct. 4th);—all of which entries probably prove that the Chancellor was then paying official visits to trading towns and customs-ports in connection with revenue business and the projected invasion of France.

The King himself attended a Council at Lambeth on March 19th, 1411,² and was at Beauregard in Windsor Forest on April 1st.³ From April 9th to 28th he was at Windsor⁴ for St. George's Feast.⁵ The chapel had just undergone large repairs,⁶ and the rolls record the usual costly entries for furs and woollen cloth, and embroidery for the liveries and garters.⁷ On April 26th, as we have seen,⁸ the King told the Hanse envoy that he intended to be in London very shortly; and we know that he was at Lambeth on May 4th, 12th, and 13th,⁹ at Westminster on May 16th,¹⁰ and subsequently at the Tower. But the greater part of the month of May was spent at the manor of Rotherhithe,¹¹ which then belonged to the Cluniac Abbey of Bermondsey,¹² and in the next century the old stone house

¹ CLAUS., 13 H. IV., 40 d. ² Vol. III., p. 303. ³ ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 13. ⁴ For documents dated at Windsor, April 9th, 10th, 12th, 15th, 16th, 20th, 21st, 22nd, 24th, 26th, 28th, 1411, see DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 26', 62'; PAT., 12 H. IV., 9, 17 d; FR. ROLL, 12 H. IV., 19; PRIV. SEAL, 651/6841. ⁵ Q. R. WARDROBE $\frac{1}{2}$, APP. B.; L. T. R. ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCTS., 12, 4, APP. C. ⁶ For lime and flint for repairing St. George's Chapel, see PRIV. SEAL, 650/6733, Nov. 29th, 1410; PAT., 12 H. IV., 19 d, March 18th, 1411. ⁷ ISS. ROLL, 12 H. IV., PASCH., April 26th, 29th, 1411; cf. Vol. II., p. 423, note 8. The garter motto appears as "Honnis soit il qui mal pense, hoc est: Pereat ille qui malum cogitat," in BRANDO, 45; but "Hony soit qi male y pense" in 1403.—L. T. R. ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCTS., XI., 12, APP. C.; so also in 1347.—N. AND Q., 7th SER., x., 329. Cf. "Hony soit q'male pense," enamelled on a silver jug, taken over from Richard II. in 1399.—KAL. AND INV., III., 325, 347. ⁸ Vol. IV., p. 20; HR., VI., 15. ⁹ Vol. III., p. 303, note 4. ¹⁰ HR., VI., 14. ¹¹ DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 7 (a), APP. A. For documents dated at Rotherhithe, May 8th, 15th, 18th, 19th, 21st, 25th, 27th, 28th, 1411, see *ibid.*, XI., 16, 15', 48', 58'. ¹² MONAST., v., 88; LYSONS, I., 471, 548; MANNING AND BRAY, I., 190, 192. It was a royal manor in the time of Edward III.—Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{2}{3}$, APP. B.

was still standing in which he "was said to have lain."¹ From June 9th to Aug. 20th he was either at Stratford Abbey² or Lambeth.³ On Aug. 21st he was at Beauregard, and on Aug. 26th and 29th, and Sep. 1st, he was again at Rotherhithe,⁴ passing up and down the river in his barge,⁵ rowed by sixteen watermen in livery of red ray.⁶ For the Thames then teemed with fish; thousands of swans⁷ sailed on its broad flood, and its banks were fringed with woods still stocked with deer, boars, wild bulls, polecats, hares, foxes, partridges, and pheasants.⁸

¹ "Whiles he was cured of a Leprosie," says LELAND, quoted in LAMBARDE, *Dict.*, 306; MANNING AND BRAY, I., 229. There is no evidence to show that the monks of Bermondsey managed a lazaret-house at St. Thomas' Waterings.—CHAUCER, *PROL.*, 828; *NOTES AND QUERIES*, 7th SER., VIII., 174. There is no such name in the list of leper-houses in J. Y. SIMPSON, II., 160, and the BERMONDSEY ANNALS make no mention of any such special visit. On the other hand, there is plenty of evidence that King Henry frequently stayed at Rotherhithe years before any suspicion of leprosy can be traced, *e.g.*, 1403.—L. T. R. ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCTS., II (12), APP. C.; Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6}{4}$, APP. B. The Lock (SHARPE, I., 694; II., XXV., 218, 341, 349) in Kent Street, Southwark, without St. George's Bars, was nowhere near Rotherhithe; see illustration in WILKINSON, Vol. I.; ALLEN, *HIST. OF LONDON*, IV., 475; MANNING AND BRAY, III., 634; STRYPE, II., 20. ² RYM., VIII., 694; VOL. II., p. 403, note 3; DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 7 (a), APP. A.; Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{4}{2}$, APP. B.; L. T. R. ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCTS., 12 (4), APP. C. For documents dated at Stratford Abbey, June 9th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 19th, 25th, July 15th, 16th, 22nd, 28th, 31st, Aug. 6th, 20th, Sep. 8th, 1411, see PAT., 12 H. IV., 5; PRIV. SEAL, 652/6904, 6966; DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 31, 35', 60'. ³ Vol. III., p. 303. ⁴ PAT., 12 H. IV., 1; PRIV. SEAL, 652/6978; ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 24. On August 28th, 1411, he was at Windsor.—DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16. For documents dated at Westminster, Sep. 1st, 1411, see RYM., VIII., 698, 699. ⁵ The barge was covered with wadmoll (DERBY ACCTS., 158), and there are frequent entries for tallowing it in APP. A., *e.g.*, DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 1, 5. For picture of Richard II.'s barge, see FROIS. (JOHNS), II., 467. ⁶ The master Robert Atte Were received 4d. per day, and the oarsmen 3d. each.—Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{4}{3}$, $\frac{6}{4}$, APP. B. For liveries, see DEP. KEEP., 30th REPT., p. 16. ⁷ For the 4000 swans, see VOLATERRANUS, 69. For officium de swanherde, see PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 13; CLAUS., 11 H. IV., 8; PRIV. SEAL, 648/6590, June 1st, 1414. ⁸ LIB. CUST., 80; FITZSTEPHEN, in BECKET, III., 3; HERBERT, II., 21; DENTON, 134. For "fesaunts," see DERBY ACCTS., 205, 206, 212, 214, 218. For rights of fugatio (cf. fugacio boum et multonum.—DERBY ACCTS., 22, 24, 29)

From Sep. 3rd to 26th he was at Lambeth;¹ on Sep. 27th he was at Beauregard;² on the 28th he was at Birdnest Lodge;³ then back at Beauregard from Sep. 29th to Oct. 2nd, and at Windsor from Oct. 6th to 21st.⁴ On Nov. 2nd, 1411, he was at Beauregard,⁵ and he spent Christmas with the Queen at Eltham.⁶

claimed by the Londoners in Middlesex and Surrey, and the common huntsman of the Corporation, see LIB. CUST., 32, 248, 310; LIB. ALB., I., 129, 564; ARNOLD, 2; BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 13, 61. A similar right was claimed by the burgesses of Colchester to hunt within the borough liberty, see COLCHESTER REC., 10, 12.

¹ ROT. VASC., 12 H. IV., 14; ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 26; ROT. PARL., III., 651; DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 7 a, APP. A. On June 28th, 1411, Archbishop Arundel appears to have been at Lincoln.—GODWIN, II., 220; B. WILLIS, ST. ASAPH, I., 78. ² REPT. DIGN. PEER, III., 812; PAT., 12 H. IV., 1 d; FR. ROLL, 12 H. IV., 1; ROT. VASC., 12 H. IV., II, 12; DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 25', 51', 66'.

³ DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 18' ⁴ For documents dated at Windsor, Oct. 6th, 7th, 9th, 11th, 13th, 16th, 18th, 21st, 1411, see *ibid.*, XI., 16, 26', 62'; PAT., 13 H. IV., I., 36; ROT. SCOT., II., 199. ⁵ FR. ROLL, 13 H. IV., 22. ⁶ For a document dated Eltham, Jan. 12th, 1412, see ROT. VASC., 13 H. IV., 3; PAT., 13 H. IV., 2, 26, shows that the Queen was at Eltham on Feb. 2nd, 1412. On Feb. 5th, 1412, she was at Greenwich.—PAT., 13 H. IV., 1, 6.

CHAPTER XC.

JEAN SANS PEUR.

In a previous chapter ¹ we have seen that the removal of the Duke of Orleans had produced a lull in the war spirit, and that by the close of the year 1409,² there was prospect of a lasting peace between England and France. The Duke of Burgundy had enough to do to hold his own, without entanglements abroad. So long as the Duchess Valentine of Orleans lived, she strained every nerve to avenge her murdered lord.³ She kept his pet dog Doucet ⁴ always at her side, and nothing could make her forgive or forget. But on Dec. 4th, 1408,⁵ she died broken-hearted at Blois; and on March 9th ⁶ following, her sons went through a form of reconciliation with their father's murderer. Orleans and Burgundy kissed each other in the Cathedral at Chartres;⁷ but the fool was right when he called it a cram peace,⁸ and many growled about lords now being

¹ Chap. LXIX. ² Vol. III., p. 101. ³ MONSTR., I., 394. ⁴ LABORDE, III., 229. ⁵ COUSINOT, 124; ST. DENYS, IV., 179; MONSTR., VI., 203; BRANDO, 125; TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 50; GESTE, 351; not Dec. 3rd, as COCHON, 244. For an inventory of her jewels and list of her books see LABORDE, III., 229, 238, 240, 244; DELISLE, I., 104. For her portrait see BONET, APPARITION, 3, 15. Her body was buried in the church of St. Sauveur in the castle at Blois; but in the time of her grandson, Louis XII., it was transferred to the church of the Celestins in Paris.—BEURRIER, 338. ⁶ ST. DENYS, IV., 201; ITIN., II., 369. ⁷ JUV., 449; BRANDO, 131; TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 51; GESTE, 353. ⁸ "Une paix fourrée."—JUV., 450; PASTORALET, 682; THOMASSY, XXXI. Je me dout que ce fust pais fourré ou par crainte.—COCHON, 243, 249.

murdered cheap,¹ and that no more justice would be done than if it had been a shrew.²

Negotiations were still afoot with England, and a meeting should have been held at Leulinghen on Sep. 16th, 1409; but in the meantime a terror reigned in Paris, and the French envoys were kept idly waiting at Amiens,³ while no English ships could venture across to Calais for fear of the French rovers who hung about the Channel.⁴ On the last day of the year the Council in Paris decided for war.⁵ The young Duke of Orleans was selling or melting down his goblets, mirrors, jewels, reliquaries, and all that he could lay hands upon, to supply himself with funds.⁶ Another grand attack was planning against Calais,⁷ and blood-curdling rumours were abroad about heaps of toads and snakes and such-like, all rotting in little casks, to be shot from the engines and knock the Englishmen down with their venomous stench.⁸ Negotiations, however, continued to progress notwithstanding. On Jan. 12th, 1410,⁹ the French Admiral, Jacques de Chatillon, Lord of Dampierre,¹⁰ met Admiral Beaufort¹¹ at Wissant, to endeavour

¹ MONSTR., I., 401. ² MONTREUIL, 1439. ³ ST. DENYS, IV., 252, 282; MONSTR., II., 46. ⁴ CLAUS., II H. IV., 36, 38 (Oct. 17th and 28th, 1409); MONSTR., II., 33. ⁵ Dec. 31st, 1409.—BAYE, I., 306; II., 297; DOUET D'ARCO, I., 322. ⁶ LABORDE, III., 252-255, dated Blois, Jan. 13th, 1410; TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 64; GESTE, 373. ⁷ ST. DENYS, IV., 320; BRANDO, 135. ⁸ WALB., II., 283; cf. carrongnes et ordure pour eaux grever, at the siege of Ham in 1411.—TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 96; GESTE, 459. For a similar case at Dun-le-Roy in 1412 see ST. DENYS, IV., 654, where the smell proved too strong for the besiegers themselves. ⁹ RYM., VIII., 621; not 1411, as MONSTR., II., 231. ¹⁰ Not Charles, as ST. DENYS, III., 766; see RYM., VIII., 594, 623, 630, 652; MORERI, III., 571; MONSTR., II., 168; III., 457. For despatch from Charles VI. to Jacques de Chastillon, dated Paris, Jan. 31st, 1410, see TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 143, 5, 104. Chatillon had succeeded Clignet de Breban in 1408 (Vol. III., p. 82).—ST. DENYS, V., 220; TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 60; GESTE, 368. ¹¹ For payment of £100 to him for this embassy see ISS. ROLL, II H. IV., MICH., Nov. 22nd, 1409. In ISS. ROLL, 14 H. IV., MICH., Lord Beaumont receives £183 for embassy to Picardy for truce, anno XI.

to secure a better understanding, and it was then arranged that the discussion should be continued at Calais on March 15th. At the end of the same month, Jean, Count of Clermont, a bitter enemy of the Duke of Burgundy,¹ was expected to arrive in London to meet Prince Thomas in the lists.² On March 25th³ safe-conducts were issued for the French Admiral and four other French envoys, though all this time the preparations for the attack upon Calais were still continued. The Duke of Burgundy was himself at St. Omer,⁴ where a great gun, called the Griette,⁵ which could fire a stone the size of a herring-tun,⁶ was fixed in the moat for preliminary practice. It took three carters and eight horses to drag it up; another carter was paid for bringing up two gun-stones and the timber for fixing it; the master-carpenter of the engines got 46s. for dressing, sighting, and pointing it, putting in the powder, and firing the stone; four workmen helped to charge it, and pack it (*estoffer*) with wood; two carpenters were paid for mounting guard over it, and watching it for three days and nights; an iron spoon was specially made to throw in the powder; 2s. was paid for covering it from the rain; another 2s. to a barrowman (*brouteur*) for picking up the shot after it had landed in a field; and 8s. to three carters for taking back the gun from behind the castle to St. Bertin's Abbey.⁷ Similar expenses were incurred for making the crampons, preparing the powder, and arranging the stones

¹ MONSTR., II., 32; BRANDO, 143. ² RYM., VIII., 626. ³ MONSTR., II., 96; RYM., VIII., 630. ⁴ ITIN., 379, shows that he was again at St. Omer from May 20th to June 8th, 1411; also BRANDO, 149 (s.a. 1411). ⁵ See Vol. II., p. 268, note 10; called Grielle in GESTE, 448, 451; TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 95. It afterwards took 75 carts to remove the guns to Arras.—TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 92; GESTE, 439. ⁶ De laquelle sailly une pierre plus grosse que ung cacque de hareng.—TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 96. ⁷ For receipt for all these payments, dated May 27th, 1411, see LABORDE, I., 24.

for three other guns that were meant to have been fired:—so that evidently great things were intended. But the English, as we have seen,¹ were alive to their danger; and on Feb. 6th, 1410,² an order was issued to the English Admirals to charter all vessels with a carrying capacity of over 30 tons³ to meet the expected attack. But a few days after Easter,⁴ a carpenter at St. Omer was bribed to fling Greek fire over the timber-towers and stores collected at St. Bertin's, and the Abbey itself was burnt in the general blaze.⁵ This disaster put an end to all preparations for attack; the air was cleared, and peace was at once secured. On April 27th,⁶ Sir Thomas Pickworth and Sir William Bardolph were commissioned to arrange for a renewal of the truce with France, the articles of which were proclaimed in Calais before the 1st of August following.⁷

But, by this time, all pretence of reconciliation between the houses of Burgundy and Orleans had been cast aside, and Paris was once more in a welter of civil war. On Aug. 23rd, 1410,⁸ Christine de Pisan wrote her impassioned appeal to the French Queen and Council. Her tears streamed over the paper till there was no dry place on it, to think that those whom Nature meant for friends should be killing each other like dogs or Guelphs and Ghibellines, while the English were standing ready to play out the checkmate as soon as chance allowed.⁹ Why did they not turn their arms on these, who were their

¹ Vol. III., p. 307. ² PRIV. SEAL, 647/6426. For an order requiring all such vessels to remain in their ports till something was decided, see ISS. ROLL, 11 H. IV., MICH., Feb. 3rd, 1410. ³ *I.e.*, capable of carrying so many tons of wine, which was then the recognised standard of capacity for shipping; *e.g.*, 100 tons.—FR. ROLL, 13 H. IV., 19. A tun of wine equalled two pipes or four puncheons (*ponchons*).—*Ibid.*, m. 15. ⁴ *Quâdam die post Pascha*.—ST. DENYS, IV., 312; JUV., 451. ⁵ EUL., III., 418; OTTERB., 268. ⁶ RYM., VIII., 632. ⁷ See order dated July 16th, 1410, in PRIV. SEAL, 649/6641. ⁸ THOMASSY, XXV., 141-149. ⁹ *Les Anglais par de costé qui parferont l'eschec et mat si fortune y consent*.—*Ibid.*, 143.

natural enemies? what were the clergy doing that there were no processions? why did not the Duke of Berry move into Paris and stop the fratricidal war? Both sides had English troops in their pay. Some were with the Flemings and Brabanters¹ under the Duke of Burgundy, while others took service as archers under young Arthur,² brother to the Duke of Brittany, and second son of Queen Joan of England, and ranged themselves with the Armagnacs in support of the Duke of Orleans. Of all hired robbers the Bretons were accounted the most impious and hardened,³ and with them the English now tasted the sweets of plunder in Touraine and Poitou, and "ate up the poor"⁴ outside the walls of Paris, till they were thrown out of work by the hollow treaty of Bicêtre (Nov. 2nd, 1410).⁵ They were not, however, really disbanded, and before the next spring came round, were killing and thieving again, to recoup their promised wages.⁶

These growing divisions in France were watched with delight⁷ by the English court, and an opening for playing

¹ ST. DENYS, IV., 364. ² *Ibid.*, 326, 356; MONSTR., II., 95; JUV., 455.
³ ST. DENYS, IV., 516. ⁴ "En mengant le povre peuple."—MONSTR., II., 102; BAYE, I., 332, 339, 340; II., 299; BOURGEOIS, 632; FENIN, 17. ⁵ DOUET D'ARCO, I., 329; MONSTR., II., 97; RECEUIL DES TRAITEZ, 374; BRANDO, 145; TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 70; GESTE, 388. ⁶ ST. DENYS, IV., 400, 410.
⁷ GERSON, IV., 637; ST. DENYS, IV., 344, 684; BOURRET, 118.

Syn this day sharpe werre and harde
 Is at the dore here, as men may beholde.
 Fraunce, no wonder is thoghe thyne hert colde
 And brenne also, sithen suche is thyne agonie,
 Thy self manacethe thyself for to dye.

I am an Englishshe man and am thy foo,
 For thou a foo art to my lygeaunce,
 And yit myne hert stuffed is withe wo
 To see thyne unkyndely disseveraunce.
 Accordethe you, gurdethe you with suffraunce;
 Ye greven God and yourself harme and shame,
And your foes therof have disporte and game.

out the checkmate was not long in coming. Pressed by his enemies on all hands and driven out of Paris, the Duke of Burgundy saw no way of keeping himself afloat but by down-right treason to his country. In July, 1411,¹ he sent across a message from Arras,² expressing a wish to conclude a separate alliance with the King of England, and asking English aid in resisting the Dukes of Orleans and Berry. As an earnest of his sincerity, he was ready to hand over four of his Flemish towns, *viz.*, Gravelines, Dunkirk, Dixmuiden and Sluys,³ to help the English to reconquer Normandy, and to give his daughter Anne⁴ in marriage to the Prince of Wales.

It had long been a settled belief, that lasting peace could only be secured by marrying the heir of England with a princess of France. St. Brigit had announced this policy as a direct revelation to her from Christ;⁵ and as all efforts had

¹ ST. DENYS, IV., 474. ² ITIN., 380. ³ VARENBERGH, 499; ST. DENYS, IV., 476, 522. ⁴ ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 19; EUL., III., 419; OTT., 269; WALS., II., 286. She was his fifth, and eldest unmarried, daughter. She afterwards married the prince's brother John, and died Dec. 14, 1435. Of the others Marguerite was married to the Dauphin Louis; Marie to Adolf, Duke of Cleves (Vol. III., p. 250); Jeanne married the Count of Ponthièvre.—ITIN., 583. In ITIN., 634, it is said that she died young and the Count afterwards married her sister Isabel, but both were certainly alive in Jan., 1412, and Isabel died first, *viz.*, Sep. 18, 1412.—*Ibid.*, 598, 599; Vol. III., p. 102, note 10. Another daughter, Catherine, married Louis of Anjou, son of the King of Naples and Sicily.—ITIN., 346, 414, 439, 589, 598, 601, 603, 606, 607.

⁵ The booke of revelacions of Bride (see IV., cv.)

Expresseth how Crist thus seide hir unto :—
Of Fraunce and Engelande the kinges two,
If they wole have pees, pees perpetuelle
They shulle have

For that, O king, hathe right, ther may
By matrimonye pees and unitee
Ben hade, Cristes plesaunce is suche : Thus he
That right heir is may the reame rejoise,
Cecyng alle strife, debate, werre, and noise.

Now sithen the wey is open as ye see
How pees to gete in vertuous manere,

failed to secure a daughter of the French king,¹ there might be a chance of its fulfilment through this offer from the French kingmaker. On Sep. 1st, 1411,² King Henry signed a paper of instructions at Rotherhithe, authorising Bishop Chichele,³ the Earl of Arundel, Sir Francis Court,⁴ Hugh Mortimer and John Caterick to cross and make further inquiries on these delicate matters. What would the Duke offer as a dower with his daughter? Would he help the English to regain their slipping foothold in Guienne? Would he be prepared actually to rise in arms against his own sovereign? and would he furnish reasonable "lodging and ease" for the King of England or any who might come over to his aid?

Henry meanwhile was preparing to cross and head the descent in person. On June 13th, 1411,⁵ Elming Leget,⁶ the Keeper of the King's ships,⁷ had been commissioned

Folwethe that wey and your strife ley on bere;
 Purchacethe pees by wey of mariage
 And ye thereynne shulle fynde avantage.

—Hoccl., DE REG., 193, 194.

¹ Vol. III., pp. 50, 100. ² ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 24; RYM., VIII., 698, 699. ³ PRIV. SEAL, 652/6935 (July 1, 1411), has appointment of Henry, Bishop of St. David's, Henry, Lord Beaumont, Sir John Cheyne, and John Caterick to cross to Calais as ambassadors for treaty with France, also safe-conducts from Flanders. For £100 each paid to Chichele and Caterick as envoys to Picardy see ISS. ROLL, 12 H. IV., PASCH. (July 12th, and 23rd, 1411); RYM., VIII., 755. For £200 paid to Chichele and £120 to Caterick sent to France for extension of truce, see ISS. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH. (Nov. 5, 1411). For reference to Chichele and Caterick, as late ambassadors to France, see PAT., 13 H. IV., I., 17, Dec. 13, 1411. ⁴ For £120 paid to him for embassy to the Duke of Burgundy, see ISS. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH., Dec. 16, 1411; cf. RYM., VIII., 698, 699. He was in Henry's service, when Earl of Derby.—DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., I, 4, APP. A.; DERBY ACCTS., 291; Vol. II., p. 309, note 3; and was knighted at his coronation.—BRANDO, 63. ⁵ Pour nous faire service en nre galee.—PRIV. SEAL, 652/6905; PAT., 12 H. IV., 11 (June 22, 1411). ⁶ On Oct. 5, 1411, Leget was going abroad.—FR. ROLL, 13 H. IV., 22. ⁷ On May 12, 1407, John Elmeton, is clerk of the King's ships.—Q. R. WARDROBE, 3⁸/₈, APP. F. On Feb. 15, 1410, the office is held by John Starling.—*Ibid.*, 4⁸/₈, APP. B.

to impress men to serve on board the royal galley. Ropes and cables¹ were bought up and forwarded to London; hundreds of oaks were felled at Eltham² for boards; and shipwrights³ and ferrous were in full work at the building-yards at Ratcliffe⁴ below the Tower. On Aug. 14th,⁵ proclamations were issued to the sheriffs of 35 counties announcing that the King was about to proceed to Calais, to stop a threatened invasion of the Marches by the French, and calling up levies to be in London by Sep. 23rd. On Aug. 28th,⁶ the Council allotted £666 13s. 4d. for arraying the King's ships for the voyage, and on the same day letters were despatched to various lords, summoning them to a Council to be held on Sep. 9th, to take steps for the King's approaching journey. Many knights were to be ready armed in London by Sep. 23rd, the Council assigned £13,198⁷ to be paid to the Treasurer at Calais, and stones and timber were sent across from Rochester,⁸ to repair weak places in the fortifications. On Sep. 3rd,⁹ an order was issued requiring all barges, balingers, and other vessels of 30 tuns portage to be brought to London to sail with the King to parts beyond sea. The wardrobe accounts¹⁰

¹ PAT., 12 H. IV., 4 d. ² Cf. PAT., 14 H. IV., 13 d (Oct. 1, 1412); PRIV. SEAL, 657/6438, Jan. 11, 1413, where William Loveney, keeper of the King's ships (appointed March, 1412.—NICOLAS, NAVY, II., 400), is ordered to fell eighty oaks at Eltham to make three galleys. ³ PAT., 12 H. IV., 6 d; PRIV. SEAL, 652/6959, July 15, 1411; PROMPT. PARV., 157; SHARPE, I., 412, 600. For picture of shipbuilding in the 14th century, see ZIMMERN, 128. For "schip-write," see A. S. GREEN, I., 88, from HIST. MSS., 5th REPT., 496. ⁴ Cf. "Redeclive."—SHARPE, I., 600. ⁵ CLAUS., 12 H. IV., 1 d. ⁶ ISS. ROLL, 12 H. IV., PASCH. RAMSAY (I., 157) allows only an average of £420 per annum for dockyard expenditure during the whole reign. ⁷ *Viz.*, £7433 os. 22d. (sic) (Sep. 23, 1411), and £5765 2s. 4d. (Sep. 25, 1411).—ISS. ROLL, 12 H. IV., PASCH. ⁸ CLAUS., 13 H. IV., 15, May 19, 1412. ⁹ RYM., VIII., 700; ISS. ROLL, 12 H. IV., PASCH., Aug. 28, 1411. ¹⁰ L. T. R. ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCTS., 12, 4, APP. C.

show large sums spent for painting¹ and embroidering² pennons, streamers and banners of black, white, red and bluesatin,³ worsted standards, bronze vanes⁴ and tartryn and satin coats with the King's cognisance⁵—the Trinity, St. Mary, and St. George—and 2000 buckram pensels⁶ with ostrich feathers for the lances. Six large boles of timber were ready for the King's pavilion, and a painted ash stick for his bed; and the armourers were busy basting jacks and baldrics, padding basinets, palets,⁷ vanbraces, and rerebraces, or scouring the rust from harness with bran, charcoal, and sand.⁸ The barons or freemen of the Cinque Ports⁹ were to provide their usual service of 57 ships as required by their charter,¹⁰ each ship being victualled¹¹ to carry 20 men fully equipped, together with a master and constable. All these were bound to serve for 15 days at their own cost, and after that their wages would be paid by the country, the master and the constable each receiving 6d. per day, and the men-at-arms 3d.¹² The Prince of Wales as Warden¹³ had been at his post at Dover¹⁴ and Arundel¹⁵ earlier in the year. The requisite 40 days' notice was now given, and the ships were to be at London by Sep. 23rd.

¹ For the King's painter, see Iss. ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH., Sep. 10th, 1408. Cf. *Bon peintre pour faire bannière*.—DESCHAMPS, VII., 72. For oil painting as early as 1341, see LABORDE, I., lxiv.-lxvi. ² For the King's brouderer, see PAT., 13 H. IV., I, 35. ³ LOND. AND MID. ARCH. SOC., IV., 347. ⁴ Cf. Vol. II., p. 67, note 4; HALLIWELL, I., 346.

⁵ Cf. "What is hus consyaunce," quoth ich, "in hus cote armure?" "Three persons in o pensel," etc. —P. PLO., XIX., 188.

⁶ GOWER, CONF., 332, 334; DERBY ACCTS., 34, 35; PRUTZ, 34; CHAUC. (S.), I., 236; II., 149; penouncels.—*Ibid.*, 418; cf. ROCK, II., 495. ⁷ PROMPT. PARV., 378; HALLIWELL, II., 599. ⁸ Q. R. WARDROBE, 111, APP. E. ⁹ RYM., VIII., 733; BURROWS, 77. ¹⁰ Vol. I., p. 134; BURROWS, 36, 41, 87; A. S. GREEN, I., 390. ¹¹ CHAUC. (S.), III., 122; MAN OF LAW, 5289. ¹² CLAUS., 12 H. IV., I, Aug. 14th, 1411. ¹³ Vol. III., p. 272. ¹⁴ Iss. ROLL, 12 H. IV., PASCH. (May 28th, 1411), refers to letter sent to him there from the Treasurer in London. ¹⁵ For messenger to him at Arundel, see *ibid.*, July 23rd, 1411.

The ships were ready and all preparations were complete ; but the King changed his mind at the eleventh hour, and decided to remain at home. His broken health was, doubtless the chief compelling cause ; but the Duke of Burgundy was now upon a different tack, and in asking for a force of English troops, he had not bargained for a sick-bed King to clog their movements. A strong party in the English Council urged immediate abdication in favour of Prince Hal. But, ill though he was, the King clung hard to life ; and when the suggestion was made to him by Bishop Beaufort,¹ he replied that while breath lasted him,² he would rule.³ Our knowledge of the details of this intrigue is almost wholly wanting ; but it was neither forgiven nor forgotten, and the memory of it was raked up 13 years later in the quarrel between Beaufort and Duke Humphrey. It led, as we shall see, to the retirement of the Prince from the Council, and awakened much resentment in the mind of the King, and it may have been the reason for the arrest of six knights,⁴ one of whom, Sir Roger Leche, was Steward of the Prince's Household.⁵

¹ ROT. PARL., IV., 298 ; EUL., III., 421 ; CHRON. R. II.-H. VI., 37 ; Vol. III., p. 45. For the supposed factions between Beaufort and Arundel, see STUBBS, III., 40, followed by RAMSAY, Vol. I., *passim*.
² Cf. *Why! me lasteth breeth.*—CHAUC. (S.), III., 109, 127, 152. ³ CHRON. GILES, 63 ; TURNER, II., 373 ; PAULI, V., 72 ; TYLER, I., 285 ; II., 439, considers that the statement is “altogether apocryphal,” and “carries no authority whatever.” ⁴ *I.e.*, Richard Stanape, Thomas Chaworth, John Zouche, John de Leek, Roger Leche, and John Cockayne, kts., also John Findern. For order for their committal to the Tower, dated Oct. 23rd, 1411, see CLAUS., 13 H. IV., 40 d. They were brought up for examination in the Chancery on Nov. 6th, 1411 (*ibid.*, m. 39), and were soon afterwards released ; but the nature of their offence is nowhere stated. ⁵ Vol. III., p. 50.

CHAPTER XCI.

DEBASEMENT.

As early as Aug. 28th, 1411,¹ orders had been drawn up for the meeting of another Parliament. The writs were sent out on Sep. 21st,² and the members assembled in the Painted Hall of the Palace at Westminster on Nov. 3rd.³ The King was too unwell to be present at the opening;⁴ but the Chancellor, Thomas Beaufort, was commissioned to represent him in his absence, and, having formally declared the Parliament open, to adjourn it till the Wednesday following.⁵ There were rumours that the King meant to wreak a grudge on those who had lately been the means of shelving him;⁶ and when Thomas Chaucer was again chosen Speaker, King Henry told him that he would have "nakin novelty"⁷ in this Parliament;⁸ he meant to have his freedom and his liberty as fully as any of the Kings before him.

The expenditure for the year ending Sep. 29th, 1411,

¹ ISS. ROLL, 12 H. IV., PASCH. ² REPT. DIGN. PEER, III., 809; SOLLY-FLOOD, 97. ³ RETURN PARL., I., 276. Not Nov. 2nd, as OTT., 270; WALS., II., 287. ⁴ ROT. PARL., III., 647. *Ratione suæ infirmitatis.* —CHRON. GILES, 62. ⁵ PAT., 13 H. IV., I, 23, Nov. 2nd, 1411. ⁶ ROT. PARL., III., 658. ⁷ Cf. WYCL. (A.), I., 176; II., 244, 249, 301, 302, 327; III., 364; CHAUC. (S.), IV., 21; SQUIRE'S TALE, 10933. For "nakins," "nankins," see HALLIWELL, II., 570. ⁸ ROT. PARL., III., 648. There is no evidence that Chaucer "made a very humble apology," as STUBBS, III., 671. His words are nothing more than the customary official submission.

had amounted to £80,837 12s. 9d.¹ The receipts for the first half of the year were £36,592 18s. 6d.,² but as the Easter Receipt Roll is missing, it is not possible to balance the account. The second half of the tenths fell due on June 24th, 1411; and collectors, customers, and controllers had been summoned to be at Westminster before Sep. 30th.³ The subsidy was now fixed at 43s. 4d. and 53s. 4d. for the next year, three-fourths of it to be used for the protection of Calais, and the rest for the general defence of the country.⁴ Over and above this a tax was to be collected of 6s. 8d. for every £20 of annual income arising from land or rents,⁵ the assessment to be made after formal inquiry in the county or borough in which each man resided. The whole yield of this tax was to be at the King's free disposal, and no time was lost in gathering it in. Commissioners were appointed on Jan. 2nd, 1412,⁶ who were to give in their report by the end of February. Throughout the autumn of 1411,⁷ Exchequer clerks had been travelling all over England, getting in fines that were in arrear, and customers were again summoned⁸ to come to Westminster with their rolls and tallies the day after the close of Easter, 1412.⁹ The second instalment of the taxation

¹ ANTIQUARY, VI., 104. Not the lowest for the whole reign, as RAMSAY, I., 143; see Vol. II., p. 115. ² REC. ROLL, 12 H. IV., MICH. ³ ISS. ROLL, 12 H. IV., PASCH., July 23rd, 1411. ⁴ CLAUS., 14 H. IV., 25, Oct. 24th, 1412. ⁵ EUL., III., 419; ROT. PARL., III., 671; REC. ROLL, 14 H. IV., MICH., Oct. 18th, Nov. 3rd, 1412. *Ultra reprises*.—ISS. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH., Feb. 4th, 1412. *Outre les charges et reprises*.—PAT., 13 H. IV., I., 7 d. ⁶ PAT., 13 H. IV., I., 7 d. For payment to the messengers, see ISS. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH., Feb. 4th, 1412. In London the subsidy of 6s. 8d. for every £20 yielded £70 6s. 8d., the total return of property being £4220 in the name of 1132 persons or institutions.—ARCHÆOLOGICAL JOURNAL, XLIV. ⁷ ISS. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH., Feb. 26th, 1412. ⁸ For payment to the messengers, see ISS. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH., Jan. 22nd, 1412. ⁹ In crastino clausi Paschæ.—ISS. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH., Feb. 26th, 1412.

granted in May, 1410,¹ fell due on Nov. 11th, 1411, and from that day till Dec. 12th,² extra tellers were kept at work in the Treasury at Westminster for the quicker delivery of receipts as the money came in, and the clerks worked assiduously through the vacation, entering memoranda and inspecting rolls.³ On Nov. 27th, 1411, the Council ordered that two-thirds of the subsidy of wool raised in the port of London,⁴ should be used to pay the back-wages of the Calais garrison; and within three months £4306 16s. 11d.⁵ was paid over from this source to Robert Thorley as Treasurer of Calais.

In spite of stringent prohibitions,⁶ large numbers of English gold nobles had found their way to Denmark⁷ and other countries, through the operations of the Hansers; and inasmuch as France,⁸ Flanders,⁹ Scotland,¹⁰ Denmark,¹¹ Ger-

¹ Vol. III., p. 314. ² Iss. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH., Nov. 28th, 1411. ³ Iss. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH., Dec. 16th, 1411; Feb. 26th, 1412. ⁴ H. HALL (II., 205, 212) gives the yield in the port of London at £13234 2s. 1d. from Oct. 12th, 1399, to Sep. 29th, 1400, against £8128 7s. 3½d. from Sep. 29th, 1400, to June 4th, 1401. ⁵ *Viz.*, £1526 9s. 4½d. (Dec. 16th, 1411), £1740 7s. 2½d. (Jan. 22nd, 1412), £402 13s. 4d. (Feb. 4th, 1412), £637 7s. (Feb. 23rd, 1412).—Iss. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH. ⁶ For statutes forbidding export of gold and silver, see A. S. GREEN, II., 69. For enactments against taking Scottish coin out of Scotland, see COCHRAN-PATRICK, I., 8. ⁷ Vol. II., p. 452, note 9; FANT, I., 31, 36, 60, 96. In 1403 the German Order paid 3500 English nobles to King Sigismund for his rights over the Neumark or Pomerellen beyond the Vistula, the noble being equal to 25 scot 6 pfennigs.—VOSSBERG, 76. ⁸ Scutum de duobus solidis album uno denario pejorem.—ST. DENYS, IV., 762; MONSTR., II., 325. For French coins of Charles VI. [*i.e.*, gold=royal, escu heaume, escu á la couronne, mouton, chaise and salut; silver=gros tournois, bikon, blanc, double (tournois et paris), denier, liard and obole], see LEBLANC, 238. ⁹ The Duke of Burgundy uttered a new coinage for Flanders at Christmas, 1410, the value of which was lowered by ¼th, so that the denarius was worth three sterlings instead of four, and the groat 18 mites instead of 24.—HR., V., 552; VI., 21. ¹⁰ In 1385 the English noble was worth 7s. 8d. of Scottish money, rising to 9s. 4d. in 1393.—COCHRAN-PATRICK, I., 8, 12. Cf. Vol. II., p. 374, note 5. ¹¹ Dat quade payment dat in Dennemark geslagen wert in 1407.—HR., V., 277.

many,¹ and the Teutonic Order² had all recently debased their coinage, the Council now resolved to try the effect of a similar policy in England, according to the current maxim that "money changeth oft in price after that the Prince will ordain."³

It will have been noted that all large amounts were then reckoned either in marks or in £ s. d.; but these designations are to be considered only as money of account,⁴ not actually represented by tangible coins. The standard English coin in those days was the sterling or penny,⁵ with its multiples—the groat,⁶ or great penny, valued at 4d; the half-groat (or 2d.); and the fractional half-pence and farthings⁷—all of which were made of silver.⁸ In 1265,⁹ the weight of the penny had been fixed at 32 grains of dry wheat, taken from the middle of the ear; but this was soon reduced to the familiar

¹ The gulden struck in Frankfort in 1402 was debased to the extent of six pennings.—RTA., v., 558, 565; VI., 104, 138, 280, 286. For further debasement of the gulden in 1409, see *ibid.*, VI., 605, 629, 666, 708, 753. ² Henry of Plauen debased the Prussian shilling to about $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of its former value.—HIRSCH, DANZIG, 43; VOSSBERG, 135, 137; POSILJE, 337. For his silver shillings and gold ducats with the legend *Posui Deum adjutorem meum* on the reverse, see VOSSBERG, 138-141, PLATE VI. ³ WYCL. (A.), I., 258. For the treatise of Nicholas Oresme to combat this view, and prove that money being the property of the *communitas* cannot be altered in value by the King *auctoritate propria*, see CUNNINGHAM, I., 320, 556, 559, 572. ⁴ H. HALL, EXCHEQ., 40; DERBY ACCTS., XCVIII.; PRUTZ, XLVII. For monnaie de compte, see LEBLANC, XVI. Cf. An hundred ponde of nobles gode and founde.—HOCCL., DE REG., 155. ⁵ Cf. And shoken nobles and sterlings.—CHAUC. (S.) IV., 40; STOW, LOND., 45. False peny is no peny.—WYCL. (A.), I., 124. ⁶ MURIMUTH, 182; COCHRAN-PATRICK, I., 12; TINDAL'S RAPIN, I., 504; P. PLO., XVIII., 207; CHAUC., NONNES PREEST, 14964; HOLT, 159. We may not cure for grotes nor for pens.—POLLARD, MIRACLES, II, 117. ⁷ Vol. II., p. 374; WYCL. (A.), I., 224; II., 174. ⁸ Candidis esterlengis.—GEST. ABB., I., 308. For nigra moneta (or nigra mixta), *i.e.*, billon or debased silver, quæ est congrua pro minutis mercaturis, see ORESME, in CUNNINGHAM, I., 323, 558. Ærea moneta olim recessit ab usu.—CUNNINGHAM, I., 565. ⁹ STAT., I., 200, 204; RUDING, I., 360, 387, 389; CUNNINGHAM, I., 148

pennyweight of 24 grains,¹ and by the beginning of the 15th century, the weight of silver in the penny was only 18 grains.² It was now determined to reduce the amount to 15 grains;³ so that, whereas a pound weight of silver had been previously coined into 300 pennies, and had thus passed current for 25s.,⁴ the same weight of silver would henceforward be coined into 360 pennies, and be valued at 30s. in current money.

Gold had not taken a steady place in the English coinage till the year 1344,⁵ when nobles, half-nobles (or mails⁶), and quarter-nobles (or ferlings), were coined by Edward III. The noble, nicknamed the "ship,"⁷ with a figure of the King standing in a galley,⁸ and an alchemistic⁹ legend about Jesus passing

¹ H. HALL, EXCHEQ., 125; HOLT, 159. For the supposition that these were 24 barley-corns equalling 32 wheat-grains, see NOTES AND QUERIES, 8th SER., II., 71, 23/7/92. ² NUM. CHRON. O.S., VIII., 125; N.S., I., 21; VII., 25; IX., 264; XI., 105. The Shepherd sale (July, 1885) contained two groats of Henry IV., weighing 54½ and 57½ grains, which sold for £8, and £28 respectively. A half-groat weighing 33 grains sold for £21 10s. There were also a York penny (17 grs.), two London pennies (14 grs.), and a halfpenny (8½ grs.).—NUM. CHRON., 3rd S., v., 243. ³ HAWKINS, 213; NUM. CHRON., N.S., VI., 141; RUDING, I., 22, 183, 493; reckoning the Tower pound as 5400 grains, which was ½oz. (or 360 grains) less than the lb. Troy.—RUDING, I., 12, 188, 220; II., 77. ⁴ In Scotland the lb. of silver was current for 32s.—TYTLER, III., 111; COCHRAN-PATRICK, I., LXXV., 8. ⁵ ROT. PARL., II., 452; MURIMUTH, 160; NUM. CHRON., v., 134; ARCHÆOLOGIA, VII., 142. CUNNINGHAM (I., 248, 327) thinks it was issued purposely for the sake of foreign trade. For the gold florin of Edward III., see Vol. III., p. 130, note II. ⁶ Obuli de auro videlicet mailles.—COCHRAN-PATRICK, I., 12. Nuls vers ly ne vault une maille (i.e., ½d.).—PASTORALET, 712; cf. Vol. II., p. 237. For the French obole or maille of Charles VI., see HOFFMANN, 51. ⁷ Vol. II., p. 25. Cf. makethe fulle many shippes to saile into thy cofre.—HOCCL., DE REG., 189; LYDGATE, 50; CHRON. LOND., 269. Tollite navem de pretiosâ monetâ vestrâ.—CAPGR., DE ILLUSTR. HENR., 135; CUNNINGHAM, I., 361. ⁸ POL. SONGS, II., 159, 193; T. BURTON, MELSA, III., XXXII., 45; NUM. CHRON., 3rd SER., II., 298; GARDINER, 255. ⁹ Unless it is a charm against thieves, see ARCHÆOL., XLVII., 140, with quotation from MANDEVILLE. For "Alconomy," see GOWER, CONF., 203-205, who says:—

To get a pound they spenden five,
I not how such a craft shall thrive
In the maner as it is used.

through the midst, was valued at 6s. 8d.,¹ and 39½ of them were made out of a lb. weight of gold.² The amount of gold in each coin was reduced in successive issues, so that in 1351³ a lb. made 45 of them, and in 1381⁴ it had to do for 48; representing a debasement from 144 to 120 grains, or about 16 per cent. in 40 years.

Still, the intrinsic value of English coins was found to be too high when compared with that of foreign countries.⁵ The beautiful nobles and sterlings not only fell a prey to clippers and hurters,⁶ but they were melted down or taken out of the country in barrels,⁷ to be replaced by lushburghs⁸ and galyhalfpennies, and Italian, Scotch, and Flemish counterfeits.⁹ To mend this lack of

¹ LAPPENBERG, 19; PRUTZ, XLVII. ² KENYON, 18. At the Shepherd sale two nobles of Henry IV., weighing 120 and 108 grains, were sold for £38 10s. and £20 respectively, a half-noble (59 grs.) for £52 10s. and a quarter-noble (29 grs.) for £16.—NUM. CHRON., 3rd S., v., 243. At the Peace sale (1894) a light noble of Henry IV. sold for £9 15s.—MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, 19/6/94. ³ KENYON, 22, 40; RUDING, I., 180, 437; RAMSAY, I., 134, 154. ⁴ ROT. PARL., III., 127. ⁵ CHRON. GILES, 63; RUDING, I., 436. ⁶ ROT. PARL., III., 126; MYROURE, 53; ARNOLD, 176; AUNGIER, 279; OXF. CITY DOC., 210; AD QUOD DAMN., 361; DENTON, 24; HOCCL., MIN. PO., XXII., 112, 114; WYCL. (A.), III., 319. For falsarii or faussars, see ORESME, in CUNNINGHAM, I., 561; DUCANGE, s.v.; MEYRICK, III., s.v. Cf. All tho' ben acursed that false the King's moneye or clippeth or maketh lasse bi cause of their profit.—WYCL. (A.), III., 270. Burning was the punishment for clippers in England, *temp.* Ed. I.; see RUDING, 159. For pardon to John Breryhurst of Newcastle-under-Lyme for clipping coin, see PAT., 6 H. IV., I., 12 (Feb. 8th, 1405). ⁷ KENYON, 22; RUDING, I., 440, 450, 463; STAT., 27 H. VI., c. 3 (II., 349). ⁸ P. PLO., XVIII., 72, 82, 168; STAT., II., 168; RUDING, I., 482, 485. Called "Lushbournes" in CUNNINGHAM, I., 300. ⁹ For ordinance (circ. 1390) forbidding any coin to circulate in Flanders except nobles and Roosbeckers (silver), see OUDEGHERST, II., 604. In 1400 one English noble = six sols de gros Flemish.—TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 143, I., 46. For loss on exchange and bad money, see FROIS., XVI., 481. In 1390 the English noble was worth from 25 to 26 scot Prussian.—KINGSTON'S COMPOTUS, pp. 1, 9, 22, 29, 33, where four marks 16 scot = 22s. 6½d., and 26 marks 22 scot = £8 5s. 8½d.—*Ibid.*, 41, 43. It was worth two marks four pfennigs in 1406.—HR., v., 231; and one mark six scot in 1414.—HIRSCH, DANZIG, 242.

pence¹ it was now enacted that the number of nobles to be made out of a lb. of gold, should be raised to 50,² the legal value of each to be 6s. 8d. as before. The experiment was to be tried for two years, and was to be dropped if found injurious to the credit of the country.³

The new coinage was taken in hand without delay. On May 6th, 1412,⁴ Thomas Drayton was appointed Assayer of the Tower Mint, and Controller of the Warden; and on Sep. 22nd,⁵ an order was issued requiring Henry Somer,⁶ the cheery friend of Hoccleve,⁷ as Warden of the

¹ Cf. And ffordoth the coyne and maketh the peple for pens-lac in pointe ffor to wepe.—RICH. REDELES, III., 142. RAMSAY (I., 153) thinks that it was "simply for the sake of the profit to be made in receiving the money through the seigniorage charged for doing so." ² GREG. CHRON., 107. In CHRON. LOND., 95, the number is 53. CAMPBELL (II., 265) believes that "the coin in this reign received no alteration whatever." ³ See ORESME's protest against debasing silver coinage (*nigra moneta*):—*Si igitur Princeps sub istâ inscriptione immutat materiam sive pondus ipse videtur tacite mendacium et perjurium committere et falsum testimonium perhibere et etiam prævaricator fieri, etc.*—CUNNINGHAM, I., 324, 565. ⁴ PAT., 13 H. IV., 2, 27; RUDING, I., 72, 77. On April 24th, 1412, Richard Wandeford was appointed changer (*camp-sor*) and assayer of the mint in Calais.—FR. ROELL, 13 H. IV., 13. On Oct. 3rd, 1412, his place was taken by John Neuwerk.—*Ibid.*, 14 H. IV., 6. ⁵ PAT., 13 H. IV., 2, 13 d; RUDING, I., 98, 119; III., 79. ⁶ He was a clerk in the Exchequer in 1399.—DEVON, 274, 276, 279, 280. In 1402 he was at Orwell, paying over money on the departure of the Lady Blanche (Vol. III., p. 249).—DEVON, 286. On Feb. 13th, 1405, he succeeded John Norbury as Keeper of the Privy Wardrobe in the Tower (Vol. III., p. 161), but gave up the office before Oct. 27th, 1408. For his seal as attorney for Norbury in 1401, see Q. R. WARDROBE, 3¹/₂, APP. E. He was made a Baron of the Exchequer on Nov. 8th, 1407 (not 1408, as DUGDALE, CHRON., SER., 57).—HOCCL., DE REG., XI.; MIN. Po., 59; Vol. III., p. 257, note 7; and his name appears on the London Subsidy Roll in Jan., 1412.—ARCHÆOL. JOURN., XLIV., 65. On April 19th, 1412, he had a grant of the Manor of Kempton.—Vol. II., p. 292, note 5; DEVON, 319. On June 20th, 1410, he was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer.—PAT., 11 H. IV., 2, 13; PRIV. SEAL, 651/6814 (Mar. 25th, 1411); 657/7436, 7461 (Jan. 8th, Feb. 1st, 1413); KAL. AND INV., II., 85, Jan. 23rd, 1413. For duties of the Chancellor, see H. HALL, EXCHEQ., 78. Cf. "Bote be my chyf chaunceler in chekyr and in parlement."—P. PLO., v., 185. For Friar John Somer, a Minorite, 1409, see Q. R. WARDROBE, 4¹/₂, APP. B. For the kalendar of John Somer, 1367, see CHAUC. (S.), III., 177, 353. ⁷ "Glad-cheered Somer."—HOCCL., POEMS,

Mint,¹ to secure moneyers² and die-gravers³ for the work.

English silver was procured from the mines of Derbyshire, Devon, Cornwall, and Somerset; but the chief supply of the precious metals came from the Hansers,⁴ who imported gold and silver in bars, logs,⁵ and wedges,⁶ from Hungary, Bohemia, and the Tyrol. The bullion was brought in plate or in mass to the King's Change in Lombard Street, to Serves Tower⁷ in Bucklersbury,⁸ or to the Old Change⁹ near St. Paul's, to be sold outright or coined into money, the King in either case taking a considerable royalty from the transaction.¹⁰

The amount brought to the mint in 1412¹¹ was more than six times the total quantity for the whole of the rest of the reign, and the charge made by the Crown for seigniorage yielded a net profit of £2833 6s. 4d. to the Exchequer.¹² The few

60; MIN. PO., 59; MORLEY, VI., 123. He was one of the "Court of Good Company."—Vol. II., p. 25; HOCCL., POEMS, 59, 65; MIN. PO., 64; FOSS, IV., 178; CHAUC. (S.), I., XLVI. For argument for dating the poem in 1410, see HOCCL., MIN. PO., XIII.

¹Somer is Custos Cambie et Monete in PRIV. SEAL, 653/7053, 656/7326 (Nov. 29th, 1411); REC. ROLL, 14 H. IV., MICH. (Nov. 23rd, Dec. 10th, 1412); see Vol. II., p. 362. For duties of the warden in 1393, see COCHRAN-PATRICK, I., 12. ²PROMPT. PARV., 342. ³Sculptores cuneorum. ⁴CUNNINGHAM, I., 184. ⁵Cf. "Suasburgh logges" (*i.e.*, from Schwatz in the Tyrol, HANS-GESCH-BL., 1877, p. 130).—PAULI, LIBELL, 10-36. LANNOY (31) visited the silver mines at Berch in Bohemia in 1414. ⁶WYCL. (M.), 49. ⁷STOW, LOND., 44, 45; DEVON, 375; RUDING, III., VIII., XII., XV. Not Sernes Tower, as BESANT, LONDON, 68; WHITTINGTON, 51. Called "Sewtes-Tour" (MONAST., VI., 1350), or Serverstour, Sylvestretour, Cervetstour, Corvettestour.—SHARPE, II., 104, 303. ⁸LYDGATE, 57; CHRON. LOND., 269. ⁹La Eldechaunge.—SHARPE, I., 354. ¹⁰RUDING, I., 431, 432, 434, 539. "The monopoly of coining probably paid the working expenses of the mint."—H. HALL, EXCHEQ., 186; CUNNINGHAM, I., 301. For ORESME's protest against the King issuing fresh coin for the sake of making a profit (*quia vult plus fabricare de monetâ ut ex hoc habeat plus de lucro et hoc est prava cupiditas in præjudicium et damnum totius communitatis*), see CUNNINGHAM, I., 561, ¹¹*Viz.*, £3612 5s. in silver, and £7329 7s. in gold.—RUDING, I., 36. ¹²RAMSAY, I., 154, from ENROLLED FOR. ACCTS., H. IV. He gives the weight of gold as 17,321 lbs. (*sic*), and silver 5582 lbs. In 1421 the

remaining specimens of this coinage bear the mint marks of London, Calais,¹ Durham and York.² The method of coining is well illustrated by some sets of irons discovered at Westminster about 60 years ago.³ Each consists of two parts. The under, called the staple or standard, is a wedge of iron about four inches long, fixed upright by means of a spike, with the obverse or head-impression punched into it. The reverse with the cross is cut into a smaller block of iron, called the trussel.⁴ The blank, after being cut to the proper shape by the sarmoner,⁵ was placed upon the staple; the trussel was held above it with the left hand; and the impression was smit⁶ off with a sharp blow from a hammer with the right.

It may have been in connection with this debasement of the coinage, or possibly in the riotous days⁷ when the Western dealers refused to pay the tax on their kersey, frieze, and cogware,⁸ that a timid Wiltshire man, near Westbury, prodded a hole in the ground about a foot deep, told off 32 nobles of full weight in a neat little pile, one above the other, without poke⁹ or box, and dropped them in.¹⁰ But he never took them up again; and there they lay unsuspected for nearly 500 years, till they were struck upon by chance during some repairs in the courtyard of a farmhouse, about 20 years ago.¹¹ A similar find of nobles of Edward III. and Henry IV. was made at the be-

seigniorage was fixed at 5s. on the Tower pound of gold, and 1s. 3d. on the lb. of silver.—CUNNINGHAM, I., 387.

¹ For the Mint at Calais, see ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 313. ² RUDING, I., 454; NUM. CHRON. N.S., XI., 100; SPEED, 623. ³ *I.e.*, in 1834.—NUM. CHRON., VII., 18; N.S., V., 362; ARCHÆOL., IV., 141. ⁴ COTGRAVE, S.V. Trousseau; PROMPT. PARV., 416, 504. ⁵ *I.e.*, Shearmoneyer.—SHARPE, I., 396. ⁶ SHORT CHRON., 54. Er gold was smite in coigne.—GOWER, CONF., 221. ⁷ Vol. I., p. 198. ⁸ ROT. PARL., III., 614. ⁹ "Or in a poke nobles all untold."—CHAUC., MILLER, 3778. ¹⁰ For hoarding nobles in the earth, see A. S. GREEN, II., 77. ¹¹ For account of the find at Bremeridge in Sep., 1877, see ARCHÆOL., XLVII., 136.

ginning of the present century,¹ at Neuadd-vach, near Llan-gunllo in Radnorshire. They were probably buried for security at the time of the battle of Pilleth.²

On Nov. 30th, 1411,³ the Prince of Wales, Bishops Beaufort, Langley, Bubwith, and Chichele, the Earls of Arundel, Warwick, and Westmoreland, and the other members of the Council, kneeled to the King and received public thanks for the way in which they had administered the State, considering the smallness of the wherewithal; and the sittings of the Parliament terminated on Dec. 19th,⁴ without any special outburst of temper.

The Northern Convocation had been summoned to meet at York on Tuesday after St. Martin's Day, Nov. 17th, 1411; but a subsequent summons fixed the meeting for some time before the Quindene of Hilary (Jan. 27th, 1412).⁵ It actually took place on Jan. 18th.⁶ At first they pleaded poverty, and would grant nothing; but after adjournments they grudgingly (*ægrè*) passed a twentieth, "after great altercations and various excuses." The Canterbury Convocation met in the Chapter House at St. Paul's, on March 6th, 1412,⁷ and adjourned to the Parish Church at Lambeth, for June 26th, where they likewise granted a twentieth, payable in the following November.⁸

Many changes in the Council followed on the close of this Parliament. The Prince withdrew for a while from public

¹ *I.e.*, in 1804; see ARCHÆOL. CAMBR., 1858, p. 589, where there is a description of the battlefield, with two breastworks of earth still remaining. ² Vol. I., p. 282. ³ ROT. PARL., III., 649. ⁴ *Ibid.*, III., 658. ⁵ REPT. DIGN. PEER, III., 812; Dec. 21st, 1411. ⁶ CONC., III., 338; WAKE, 349. ⁷ CONC., III., 338; J. C. BLOMFIELD, II., 170. ⁸ REC. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH., Feb. 18th, 1412, refers to half of the tenth granted by clergy, anno XIII. See also PAT., 13 H. IV., 1, 15; yet in REC. ROLL, 14 H. IV., MICH., Oct. 27th, 1412, is a reference to one-tenth granted by clergy, anno XIII.

life.¹ On Dec. 16th, 1411,² Henry Lord Scrope ceased to be Treasurer of England. He was succeeded by the King's trusty friend, Sir John Pelham,³ whose account begins on Jan. 22nd, 1412. Both the Issue and Receipt Rolls for the half-year from Easter to Michaelmas are lost, so that the total revenue for the year ending Sep. 29th, 1412, is not known; but for the half-year ending Easter, 1412, the receipts amounted to £41,314 os. 3d. The total expenses up to Dec. 16th, 1411, are entered as £7393 os. 14d. (*sic*), and when Scrope went out of office, he left a balance in hand of £8570 2s. 2½d. (Dec. 20th, 1411).⁴

On Dec. 19th, 1411,⁵ Archbishop Arundel was made Chancellor of England for the fifth time, in place of Thomas Beaufort;⁶ but the Great Seal remained in the King's possession till Jan. 7th, 1412, when the Archbishop took up his duties *de facto*,⁷ and went down at once to Maidstone.⁸ On

¹ ISS. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH., Feb. 18th, 1412, has payment to him of 1000 marks for his expenses, *tempore quo fuit de consilio*. See also HARD., 369; TYLER, I., 298; STUBBS, III., 69; REDMAN, II. For a curious distinction between "fuit" and "erat," see SOLLY-FLOOD, 104. ² REC. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH. He is still Treasurer in ISS. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH., Oct. 13th, 1411. For a general pardon to Pelham for all offences prior to Dec. 20th, 1411, see PAT., 13 H. IV., I, 6. ³ Pelham appears as Treasurer, Feb. 9th, 1412, in ISS. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH.; also Jan. 9th, 1412.—RYM., VIII., 757; and Nov. 3rd, 1412, Feb. 17th, March 22nd, 1413.—ISS. ROLL, 14 H. IV., MICH. He resigned office, Mar. 20th, 1413, on the King's death.—ISS. ROLL, 14 H. IV., MICH. In PAT., 14 H. IV., 13, Nov. 13th, 1412, he is granted the Rape of Hastings, and the manors of Crowhurst, Burwash, and Benylham in Sussex.—INQ. P. MORT., IV., 121; COLLIER, V., 495; HORSFIELD, I., 433, 579. ⁴ In the interval, before Pelham's account begins, the heading of the membrane has been cut away, possibly to save the unused parchment. ⁵ For a general pardon to Arundel for all offences prior to Dec. 19th, 1411, see RYM., VIII., 753, dated June 15th, 1412. He is called Chancellor on Dec. 21st, 1411.—*Ibid.*, VIII., 710, though the date of his appointment is given as Jan. 5th, 1412, in T. D. HARDY, 48, followed by FOSS, 21; NICOLAS, NAVY, II., 397; STUBBS, III., 68; DICT. NAT. BIOG., XXVI., 41, 45. ⁶ Vol. III., p. 302, note 1. ⁷ PRIV. SEAL, 7087. ⁸ For

Jan. 6th, 1412,¹ Archbishop Bowet was appointed a member of the Council, with an allowance of £200 a year,² and on Jan. 22nd,³ messengers were despatched summoning a Council to meet at Westminster.

The King was at Charlton, near Eltham, on Jan. 11th;⁴ at Stratford Abbey from Jan. 13th to 22nd;⁵ again at Charlton on Jan. 28th;⁶ at Eltham from Feb. 1st to 7th;⁷ at the Tower from Feb. 12th to 18th,⁸ whence he passed to Eltham on Feb. 18th, and by Feb. 22nd, we find him at Canterbury,⁹ accompanied by his doctor, David Nigarill. Here he stayed till April 10th,¹⁰ hoping, if only his health would allow, to cross at Midsummer to Bordeaux.¹¹ By April 16th,¹² he was back at the Tower; on April 26th,¹³ he was at Westminster; on April 28th,¹⁴ at Windsor; on May 5th, at Beauregard;¹⁵ on May 23rd and 24th, at Stratford;¹⁶ many documents attest his presence in London and the suburbs throughout the

documents dated there Jan. 11th and 14th, 1412, see CLAUS., 13 H. IV., 23 d, 31 d.

¹ Iss. ROLL, 14 H. IV., MICH., Mar. 17th, 1413. ² Cf. Vol. II., p. 479, note 1. ³ For payment to messengers to Bishop Langley, the Earl of Westmoreland and Lord de Roos, see Iss. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH.; REDMAN, II. ⁴ DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 69'. ⁵ For documents dated at Stratford Jan. 13th, 16th, 18th, 22nd, 1412, see RYM., VIII., 713; DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16. ⁶ DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 7 a, APP. A. ⁷ For entries dated Feb. 1st, 7th, 18th, 1412, see *ibid.*, XI., 16, 29'. ⁸ For entries dated at the Tower, Feb. 12th, 16th, 18th, 24th, 1412, and London, Mar. 6th, 1412, see *ibid.*, XI., 16, 32', 36', 71', 75'. ⁹ Iss. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH., Feb. 26th, 1412, refers to the King at Canterbury receiving £660 13s. 4d. from the Treasurer. ¹⁰ For documents dated at Canterbury, Feb. 22nd, 26th, 28th, March 2nd, 3rd, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 17th, 23rd, 26th, 28th, 31st, April 1st, 4th, 5th, 7th, 8th, 10th, see DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16; CAL. ROT. HIB., 198; PAT., 13 H. IV., 2, mm. 5 d, 25 d, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32; CLAUS., 13 H. IV., 21 d, 22, 22 d, 23 d; FR. ROLL, 13 H. IV., 13, 14, 15, 16; RYM., VIII., 726, 728. ¹¹ RYM., VIII., 730, 733, 745; ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 29. ¹² DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16. ¹³ RYM., VIII., 732, 743. ¹⁴ DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16. ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, XXVIII., 4, 7 a, APP. A. ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, XI., 16.

months of June and July;¹ and on July 15th² we find him at Beauregard; so that a modern writer³ is altogether wrong in assuming that he was never a day's journey absent from Westminster from Midsummer, 1411, till the day of his death.

¹ EUL., III., 421; DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, mm. 36', 71', 75', dated June 28th, July 1st, 5th, 6th, 8th, 12th, 26th, 1412. He was at Clerkenwell from June 30th to July 3rd, 1412; at Rotherhithe on July 9th; at the Bishop of London's Palace (? at Fulham) from July 9th to 15th; and after the 15th he was again at Rotherhithe.—CHRON. LOND., 94. ² PRIV. SEAL, 655/7279. ³ SOLLY-FLOOD, 100. O. ATRY (TEXT-BOOK OF ENGLISH HIST., 141) thinks that he "never left Westminster Palace" after June 12th, 1411.

CHAPTER XCII.

ST. CLOUD.

BUT though Henry's plans proved futile self-deceptions, events in France had moved apace without him. While his galley was fitting in September, 1411, for a journey which he was destined never to undertake, another *volte-face* had been executed by his ally the Duke of Burgundy. All France to the north of the Seine and Oise was in the hands of Gascons and Germans in the pay of the Armagnacs.¹ Horse and foot, these wiry plunderers, with pennons painted with the Orleans nettle,² swept the land like a hurricane. They outraged women and girls, and ravaged town and village. All who had anything to lose had their houses burnt. If they crawled into caves, they were stifled with smoke.³ In accordance with acknowledged war-maxims,⁴ they were hung up by the thumbs or the feet, their eyes were gouged out, their ears cut off, their noses slit, and they were told that their King was a fool and a prisoner.⁵ South of the Oise the peasants made a feeble stand with their pikes; but this was all that could be done, and on August 28th, 1411,⁶

¹ ST. DENYS, IV., 452; MONSTR., II., 193. ² For order for painting 3900 pennons, à la devise de l'ortie, for the army sent against the Duke of Burgundy, see LABORDE, III., 259. ³ ST. DENYS, IV., 460.

⁴ Cf. Soiez crueulz contre vos ennemis,
Puisque la paix n'y puet estre bastie,
Et vous tenez tousjours sur leur pais,
Que leur terre soit destruite et honnie.

—DESCHAMPS, II., 75; also TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 78; GESTE, 410.
⁵ BOURGEOIS DE PARIS, 632. ⁶ ST. DENYS, IV., 462.

the Council in Paris were forced to recall the Duke of Burgundy to defend the capital. The Duke received the summons at Douai on Sep. 1st, 1411,¹ and while the English were inquiring as to his willingness to rise against his King,² he was hastening with 60,000 armed men,³ and a siege-train of catapults and balistas, together with 24,000 carts⁴ of baggage, harness, artillery, and provisions, to save both King and capital from destruction. But his marshals⁵ had all their work to keep the peace between the Flemingales⁶ and the Picard⁷ boors who marched with him, and it was doubtful if they could move far without an open breach.

Among the host were 300 English troops from Calais, under the command of Sir William Bardolph,⁸ whose brother⁹ Thomas had been killed at Bramham Moor. By his compact, the Duke expected 800 English men-at-arms, and 1000 archers;¹⁰ but these had not yet started, and though the fact of his negotiation with England was perfectly notorious,¹¹ he thought it prudent for the present to deny all knowledge of it,¹²

¹ ST. DENYS, IV., 466; MONSTR., II., 170, 172; ITIN., 382; BRANDO, 153; TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 91; GESTE, 438; COCHON, 256. For his reply to the defiance of the Duke of Orleans, dated Douai, Aug. 13th, 1411, see BRANDO, 152; TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 86; GESTE, 421; RECEUIL DES TRAITÉZ, 375. ² Vol. IV., p. 37. ³ Not counting pages and varlets. —MONSTR., II., 171, 173, 174; VI., 210; 100,000 according to TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 93; or 200,000, *ibid.*, 104; called 30,000 in FENIN, 19; or 25,000 in BRANDO, 152 (*i.e.*, the Flemish portion); 40,000 in PASTORALET, 689. ⁴ 2000 (from Flanders), according to BRANDO, 153. ⁵ TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 92. ⁶ Cf. "Flamengailles."—GESTE, 447, 476. ⁷ Car ils estoient hays des Picquars.—TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 98; GESTE, 465. ⁸ This is probably the true reading for Baldach, Baldoc, or Valdo in MONSTR., II., 172, 189. For letters of protection for him going to Calais, see FR. ROLL, 14 H. IV., 3 (Feb. 5th, 1413); RYM., VIII., 771 (Nov. 16th, 1412); ORIG. LET., II., 1, 74. He died July 25th, 1423. ⁹ STAPLETON, CLIII., CLXXXIII. ¹⁰ ST. DENYS, IV., 476. ¹¹ *Ibid.*, 522; JUV., 468. It is ignored by the Burgundian writers, who represent that the other side first appealed to England.—TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 71; GESTE, 391. ¹² ST. DENYS, IV., 476, 714; MONSTR., II., 293.

feeling that at the moment the presence of a large English force might prove an embarrassment rather than a strength.

After capturing and sacking Ham (Sep. 8th to 14th, 1411),¹ the vast force lay for five days at Montdidier (Sep. 22nd to 26th);² but, with winter approaching, "our Master Flemings,"³ who were only bound to serve for the usual 40 days,⁴ and always wanted home when they heard the cows low,⁵ declined to advance further; and on Sep. 27th,⁶ the whole force mutinied and started back for Flanders. They covered as much ground in one day's retreat as had taken them three to advance; Scots, English, Picards, Flemings, and Germans⁷ stabbing and killing each other in the scramble for the ripe vintage, and trampling one over the other in witless drunkenness.⁸ The Armagnacs, instead of pursuing, moved on towards Paris. St. Denys surrendered on Oct. 11th;⁹ and on the following night¹⁰ 300 of them swam the river and seized the bridge at St. Cloud.¹¹ With these two points in their hands they were able

¹ ITIN., 382; COUSINOT, 136; BRANDO, 154, 157; TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 93-97. Che fu apriès aoust.—GESTE, 448; PASTORALET, 849.
² ITIN., 383; TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 98, 102, 104; GESTE, 473, 477, 483, 486. ³ For the "sote et rude manière," of "nos maistres Flamens," see MONSTR., II., 183, 186. ⁴ COCHON, 256; TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 102; GESTE, 478; RAMSAY, I., 129. ⁵ "Veeler."—TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 96. "Muler."—GESTE, 452. Alés mengier vo bure desous vo cheminee. For contempt for the Flemings, cf. Et dist c'ung de ses hommes (*i.e.*, French) contre quatre de Gant feroit bataille à yans.—*Ibid.*, 441. The French used to say that they were made of butter, and would run in a hot sun.—TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 96; GESTE, 452. ⁶ ST. DENYS, IV., 486; BRANDO, 154. ⁷ JUV., 468; EUL., III., 419; CHRON. R. II.-H. VI., 36. ⁸ "Wexth drunke and witles for a throwe."—GOWER, CONF., 315, 316, 320. ⁹ ST. DEN., IV., 504; JUV., 468; BRANDO, 155; TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 112. Not Oct. 24th, as BOURGEOIS, 633. ¹⁰ COCHON (257) says Oct. 14th; but a letter in ORDONNANCES, IX., 641, dated Oct. 14th, 1411, refers to the capture as having already taken place. In GESTE, 507, 514, the surrender occurs just before Christmas. ¹¹ ST. DEN., IV., 510; BRANDO, 155; TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 111, 118; GESTE, 504. "Ou parc du pont."—PASTORALET, 691, 705, 712, 848.

to intercept all supplies¹ of fish, fuel, and corn from entering Paris on the north and west, and to ravage the whole country to the south of the Seine.

The desertion of the Flemings had checked the Duke of Burgundy's advance. He drew back to Arras,² where he was joined on Oct. 2nd³ by the larger English force, numbering 600 men-at-arms and 2000 archers,⁴ all "men of good stuff."⁵ In the absence of the King the command was entrusted to the Earl of Arundel,⁶ who was seconded by Sir William Bardolph,⁷ Sir Francis Court, Sir Robert Umfraville⁸ and his young nephew Gilbert,⁹ Sir John Gray and Sir John Oldcastle, now Lord Cobham.¹⁰ The Duke of Burgundy received them in the Abbey of St. Vaast, where he presented Archdeacon John Caterick,¹¹ who brought a despatch from the King of England, with six silver-gilt cups with enamelled feet, of very fair and new design and very fine and graceful workmanship.

After grand *deray*,¹² with feasting and presents and some

¹ ST. DENYS, IV., 508, 514, 596; TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 119; GESTE, 530. ² MONSTR., II., 189; TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 105. ³ ITIN., 383. ⁴ ST. DEN., IV., 526; TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 95, 109; GESTE, 449, 450, 494, 500. Not 7- or 8000, as BOURGEOIS, 633. In GESTE, 445, the Duke of Burgundy has 60 English archers with him at the siege of Ham. ⁵ MONSTR., II., 189. ⁶ BRANDO, 155; TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 95; GESTE, 451. Not the Earl of Warwick, as GRUEL, 8. Cf. HALLE, 32; GRAFTON, 440. For reference to the Earl of Arundel going to Picardy in service of the Prince of Wales, see FR. ROLL, 13 H. IV., 22, Oct. 28th, 1411. ⁷ This may be the Captain of Calais named in GESTE, 537, who also adds "le marisiel de Londres et maint autre guerrier." ⁸ HARD., 367. ⁹ *Ibid.*, 365; CHRON. GODSTOWE, 240; CLAUDE, 13 H. IV., 22, shows that he was of age (*i.e.*, 18) before Mar. 18th, 1412. Called "Offremont" or "Offermont," in GESTE, 553, 561. Cf. "Offermont."—TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 141. ¹⁰ WEEVER (204) makes him "General of all the forces." ¹¹ LABORDE, I., 61, where he is called "Cadant." FR. ROLL, 13 H. IV., 22 (Oct. 7th, 1411), refers to him as going abroad; also *ibid.*, 13 H. IV., 14, April 26th, 1412. He was now Archdeacon of Surrey. ¹² Grant desroy.—ITIN., 383. Et fist un biel diner qui grandement cousta.—GESTE, 516; TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 114.

talk over the marriage proposals, the English went forward on Oct. 9th,¹ to join the new muster at Peronne. The Duke's tent was of rich silk arras of various colours,² and the whole combined force, numbering 4000 men-at-arms,³ besides the archers, took the road by Roye and Breteuil to Beauvais and Gisors, reaching Pontoise on Oct. 16th,⁴ where they halted to see the effect of their arrival on the Parisians.

Galling, indeed, it must have been to the proud city to call to its aid these slimy polliwogs⁵ that had pestered them for the last 60 years; but the people were pressed for food,⁶ "our lords of the blood-royal"⁷ were in death-grips, and necessity would not let them choose. In the night of Oct. 22nd,⁸ the Duke of Burgundy and the English set out from Pontoise, accompanied by Bishop Chichele, Hugh Mortimer, and John Caterick, all of whom had been sent for from Calais to Arras, and remained throughout at the Duke's expense.⁹ They crossed the Seine at Meulan, where 3000 Parisians in blue and green bonnets, with the St. Andrew's cross,¹⁰ met them and escorted them by Poissy, Vanves, and Vaugirard¹¹ to the capital. They entered Paris on the southern side by the Porte St. Jacques,¹² and marched straight through the city by torchlight to the northern gate, where the Earl of Arundel

¹ ITIN., 383. ² It was bought in Aug., 1411.—LABORDE, I., 29. ³ COCHON, 258. ⁴ Not the end of October, as COUSINOT, 138. ⁵ ST. DENYS, IV., 522. Cf. PROMPT. PARV., 408, s.v. "Polwyghe"; LATHAM, DICT., II., 564, s.v. "Porwiggle"; HALLIWELL, 636. ⁶ MONSTR., II., 192. ⁷ BAYE, II., 26. ⁸ MONSTR., II., 198. ⁹ ITIN., 383. Called "deux prelatz."—TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 94, 105, 114, 115; GESTE, 448, 449, 489, 516, 518; where both are supposed to return to England from Arras. Qui estoit à Pontoise o l'Engloise maisnil.—GESTE, 535. ISS. ROLL, 14 H. IV., MICH., Feb. 28th, 1413, records £26 13s. 4d. paid to Bishop Chichele for service in Picardy from July 21st to Oct. 30th, 1412. ¹⁰ The ensign of the Duke of Burgundy.—MONSTR., VI., 212; BOURGEOIS, 633; PASTORALET, 850. Cf. "le Santoner."—JUV., 473. ¹¹ COUSINOT, 138. ¹² COCHON, 258.

took up his quarters in St. Martin's Priory.¹ But the sudden influx of 6000 mounted men was a serious tax on the burghers. Though they cried "Noël!"² to the Duke of Burgundy, they would not billet his Englishry,³ and the streets echoed all night with the tramp of horsemen seeking quarters. The difficulty, however, soon settled itself. The fame of the English archers put heart into the Parisian populace; and on Sunday, Oct. 25th, the hated foreigners sallied out with their accustomed promptness,⁴ dislodged some Bretons who were entrenched at La Chapelle⁵ behind Montmartre, and drove them into St. Denys. An English knight, named Clifford,⁶ had taken service under the Duke of Orleans with 100 men-at-arms, and 200 archers from the neighbourhood of Bordeaux; but hearing of the presence of the Earl of Arundel with an official commission on the other side, he asked and received permission to cancel his contract, and withdrew with his men from the fray, lest he should be called to account afterwards for taking arms against his Sovereign's troops.

After a fortnight⁷ of preparation in Paris, it was resolved to make a decisive effort to drive out the Armagnacs from their foothold at St. Cloud, where the bridge was held by 1500 of their picked troops, chiefly knights and squires from Brittany, Gascony, and Auvergne. In order to cover the town, which was surrounded by high ground and unprotected by walls,

¹ MONSTR., II., 199. According to TRAHISONS DE FRANCE (121) he stayed at the Duke of Burgundy's Hostel d'Artois affin que ses gens ne fèissent rumeur parmi la ville.—So also GESTE, 539. ² Vol. III., p. 93; TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 120; GESTE, 538; PASTORALET, 706. Cf. "Nowel."—HALLIWELL, 582. ³ JUV., 471. ⁴ Les Anglès font très hative mocion.—DESCHAMPS, IV., 132. ⁵ JUV., 469; TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 114, 115, 119; GESTE, 505, 520, 536, 542-544. ⁶ MONSTR., II., 202. ⁷ Not "postridie quam eo pervenit," as POL. VERG., 437; HALLE, 30; GRAFTON, 437.

they had dug trenches and thrown up a stockade formed of barrels of stones, while the three main approaches were barricaded with carts¹ and balks of timber resting on rough masonry three feet in thickness. The bridge was of wood with a tower at the end, from which a draw-leaf could be pulled up as occasion required, while several wooden mills² were built up against the piers to be worked by the force of the current below. Preparations for the attack were kept a profound secret, even from those who were to take part in it.

At 10 o'clock on the night of Sunday, Nov. 8th, 1411,³ boats filled with pitch and resin were floated down the Seine to be fired as they neared the bridge, and at the same time the attacking party, numbering about 9000 Parisians, Burgundians, Picards, and English, set out from Paris in three detachments. They left the city by the southern gate, and were forced to keep always to the south bank of the river, thereby adding greatly to the distance and the fatigue of the march. The night was winterly, and the roads were frozen; but the troops marched in silence,⁴ and arrived before St. Cloud about sunrise on the following morning. By eight o'clock all were at their posts; the bugles sounded; the fire-boats were swinging down upon the bridge; and the assailants hurled stones and arrows from the vineyards⁵ overlooking the town. The mounted men swept together shouting death with lances

¹ JUV., 471. Barrières de grans canes et de maint gros tonniel.—GESTE, 531. Fermés de bolevercques et de trenchis.—TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 120. Parmi ces grandes tonnes que de terres ont comblée.—GESTE, 557, 558. ² CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, PLATE XXIII., 132. ³ BAYE, II., 30, 33, 300; IRIN., 384; MONSTR., II., 203; JUV., 471; BOURGEOIS, 633; COCHON, 258; GESTE, 550. Not Nov. 11th, as FENIN, 32; COUSINOT, 138; TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 121. Not Nov. 15th, as ST. DENYS, IV., 556. ⁴ Sans quelque noise.—TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 121. ⁵ Par derrière les vignes.—GESTE, 554, 558, 560.

in rest; the outworks and barriers were breached and carried with a rush;¹ while the English forced the approaches and took the defenders in flank. Driven into the centre of the town and surrounded front and rear, the Armagnacs fought to the last. The English archers² unroofed houses, and hailed arrows on the struggling *mêlée* in the streets below. Maddened with their wounds, horses and riders rushed for the bridge; but a party of Gascons³ who held the tower had drawn the leaf⁴ in their panic, and watched the fugitives drown like sheep.⁵ Nine hundred knights and squires⁶ met their death in the course of three hours, including 300 who had fled into the church⁷ or into the cellars of the houses, and who were massacred as they were found. The bodies were stripped and carted out of the town, and there left unburied, to be eaten by hogs and dogs,⁸ on pretence that they died excommunicate by virtue of a papal bull,⁹ issued years before many of them had been born. The Burgundians lost some 20 men,¹⁰ though many more were badly wounded. The fall of St. Cloud was followed at once by the evacuation of St.

¹ TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 121.

² Plus doutoient le trait que le diable d'infer

De freniestres et d'uis se veulent là targier.—GESTE, 556.

³ GESTE, 564, 566. ⁴ MONSTR., VI., 213; GESTE, 565. Cf. "draft-leaf."—Vol. II., p. 63. Not the "broken bridge," as TYLER, I., 268. ⁵ Pour boire l'equé quy est Saine.—TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 121; GESTE, 515, 531. Qui les ont tous pris ou noïés.—PASTORALET, 713. L'un sur l'autre montoient tout ensi que brebis.—GESTE, 564. ⁶ JUV., 472; BAYE, II., 30, says from 600 to 800, but in II., 300, the number is 1000. COCHON (258) has 1200; OTT. (269) and WALS. (II., 286) give 1300 (ut fertur); GESTE, 566, 569, gives 1400; TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 121, has 4000 to 5000. ⁷ GESTE, 565. ⁸ BAYE, II., 85, 301; DOUET D'ARCO, I., 356; GESTE, 566, 567, 571; GREG. CHRON., 104. ⁹ Dated 7 Id. May 1367.—ORDONNANCES, IX., pp. XVIII., 652; ST. DENYS, IV., 535; MONSTR., II., 209, 224, 239; BAYE, II., 81; COSNEAU, 21. ¹⁰ MONSTR., II., 207; ST. DENYS, IV., says 7 or 8. BAYE, II., 30, "po ou nulx." In GESTE, 515, the numbers are less than 10, with 1400 on the other side, without counting the drowned, "où Jhesus laboura."

Denys,¹ and the English and Picards were turned in to plunder the old Abbey town.

The English troops had greatly distinguished themselves,² two of their captains, John Philip³ and William Porter,⁴ being specially commended in the French chronicles. The wounded were removed and tended with salves and ointments at the Duke's expense;⁵ and four days after the Orleanists had withdrawn their forces, the Earl of Arundel was feasted at the Louvre,⁶ where he sat by the Duke of Burgundy's side at table. He then went with his troops to help in the siege of Etampes,⁷ which proved a troublesome business. But the young Dauphin of France⁸ was making his first essay in real warfare with the attacking force; and the commander of Etampes was at length induced to make a complimentary surrender on Dec. 15th, 1411.⁹ This was followed by the fall of Dourdan, where the French were for killing all the prisoners; but the English, headed by the Umfravilles,¹⁰ protested that they did not come as butchers to kill folks in market or in fair. The law of arms required that prisoners should be ransomed, and that their captors should share the fine. With this they fell upon the French, and for the moment

¹ BRANDO, 155; PASTORALET, 716, 848. ² MONSTR., II., 208. ³ CHRON. LOND., 91. ⁴ HARD., 367, 389. Called Jean Potier in MONSTR., II., 205, or Jan Portier in GESTE, 552. He won his spurs against a Henower in the lists at Smithfield, July, 1409.—CHRON. GILES, 57; CAXTON, 220. ⁵ For three and a half francs paid to Master Jean de Poligny, the Duke's surgeon and varlet-de-chambre, for certain ointments and remedies, for healing two Englishmen wounded in the assault and battle before the bridge and town of St. Cloud; also nine frs. to Master Philip Guyart, physician at Beauvais, for visiting an Englishman, John Bloquelet (? Blockley), en sa maladie, see LABORDE, I., 28. ⁶ MONSTR., II., 211. ⁷ JUV., 472; COUSINOT, 140; BRANDO, 155; GESTE, 571. ⁸ He was then 15 years old.—BAYE, II., 41, 302. ⁹ ST. DENYS, IV., 576. Or Dec. 13th.—ITIN., 385. Quant ivers vint et il gela.—PASTORALET, 719. ¹⁰ HARD., 368.

stopped the massacre. But on receiving their ransom-money from the King's treasury, they waived all further objection, and left the French to torture and behead their rebels "according to the custom of the country."¹ Further operations were not possible in the depths of a specially hard winter.² The English troops returned to Paris on Dec. 18th,³ and on Dec. 23rd⁴ the Duke of Burgundy dined them at his Hostel d'Artois,⁵ and gave gold goblets, hanaps, ewers,⁶ and other rich presents to their leaders.⁷ Large sums were collected in Paris for their stipulated wages. Some few remained behind with the Umfravilles,⁸ in the pay of the Duke of Burgundy. But the bulk of the "English midges"⁹ returned direct to Calais, living on the country that they passed through *en route*, and so were dismissed to their homes, well satisfied with their treatment and reception.¹⁰

The Duke of Burgundy was pleased with the success of

¹ WALS., II., 287. Thei of Paris payed hir raunson and than killid hem.—CAPGR., 300. S. TURNER'S (II., 366) praise of the English for their "noble and spirited exhibition" of "magnanimous feelings" is, I fear, misplaced. Cf. also TYLER, I., 275. ² MONSTR., II., 223. ³ ST. DENYS, IV., 582. Not Dec. 10th, as JUV., 473. ⁴ ITIN., 385. ⁵ G. METZ, 65; GESTE, 343. For the Tour de Bourgogne, see LEROUX DE LINCY, 343; LENOIR, Vol. II. ⁶ DERBY ACCTS., 6. ⁷ LABORDE, I., 49, where Sir William Bardolph and a squire named John Rose are specially mentioned, Dec. 2nd, 1411. ⁸ OTT., 271. ITIN. (394) shows that there were 400 English troops in the Duke of Burgundy's pay in Paris on Oct. 10th, 1412. Cf. MONSTR., II., 204, 220, where "Comte de Quint" (called Kym, Kin, Ken, Kent, Quin, Quen, in CAPGR., 300; WAUR., I., 154; TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 141; GESTE, 450, 551, 553, 561; GREY FRIARS CHRON., 12) means Earl of Kyme; see WALS., II., 286; HYPODIG., 433; EUL., III., 419; LEL., COL., I., 486; OTT., 269; CHRON. GILES, 61. Sir Gilbert Umfraville was made Earl of Kyme after the victory of St. Cloud (HARD., 367), the title being taken from his family estates in Lincolnshire (DUGD., I., 507, 508, 621; RYM., VIII., 323). RAMSAY (I., 131) seems to think that he received the title from *the French*. ⁹ Cf. "mouches d'Engleterre."—TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 114; GESTE, 518, 560. ¹⁰ Cam hoom agayn with grete giftis.—CHRON. R. II.-H. VI., 36. The account of King Henry's supposed dissatisfaction with their treatment in POL. VERG., 437, is pure romance, followed blindly by HALLE, 30; GRAFTON, 437.

his stroke of policy,¹ and prepared to follow it up. For this purpose he sent five envoys, headed by his confessor, Friar Martin Porée,² who had just been appointed Bishop of Arras,³ to negotiate with Bishop Langley and four others, who had been commissioned⁴ to discuss final arrangements for the projected marriage of the Prince of Wales. The Duke's envoys were in England from Feb. 1st to March 4th, 1412.⁵ They were *fêted* by the Prince and his brothers,⁶ had interviews with the King at Coldharbour⁷ and at Rochester,⁸ and returned to Paris by Dover and Calais, with a glowing report of their reception.

But while these matters were still under consideration, the enemies of the Duke had banded together to supplant him and secure the help of England for themselves. On Jan. 24th, 1412,⁹ the Dukes of Berry, Bourbon,¹⁰ and Orleans, and the Count of Alençon met at Bourges and despatched messengers to treat with Henry, whom they now recognise fully as King of England. In order to outbid the Duke of Burgundy, their envoys were empowered to promise that the whole of the ancient Duchy of Aquitaine should be restored to the King

¹ MONSTR., VI., 214; EUL., III., 419; OTT., 270. ² Not William Porée, as LUSSAN, v., 378. ³ ITIN., 578, 588, 594; GALL. CHRIST., III., 341; MONSTR., I., 259; II., 232; III., 134. For their passport dated Jan. 11th, 1412, see RYM., VIII., 712. ⁴ RYM., VIII., 721, Feb. 10th, 1412. ⁵ Q. R. HOUSEHOLD, $\frac{6}{18}$, APP. B. ⁶ The statement that the King refused, and that the troops were sent by the Prince and his brothers, appears first in CHRON. LOND., 93. Cf. CHRON. R. II.-H. VI., 36; GREG. CHRON., 106. ⁷ DEVON, 319. ⁸ MONSTR., II., 232. Probably on his way to Canterbury.—Vol. IV., p. 52. ⁹ RYM., VIII., 715; DEP. KEEP., 45th REPT., I., 316; MONSTR., II., 307; WALS., II., 287. ¹⁰ *I.e.*, Jean I., who had just succeeded his father at 30 years of age. For the death of the "Good Duke" Louis II. at Montluçon, Aug. 19th, 1410, and his burial in the Chapel that he built at Souvigni, see CABARET, 316. For his captivity as a hostage in England from 1360 to 1366, where he was known among the ladies as the King of Honour and Lealty (*léesse*), see *ibid.*, 5, 349.

of England as his by hereditary right¹ and natural succession, and that his sons might intermarry with any of their daughters or relatives that they chose. With them were also joined envoys from the Count of Armagnac² at Rodez, and the Constable, Charles d'Albret,³ armed with instructions of similar import; and it was represented that they were backed by almost all the nobles of France, all the higher beneficed clergy and the vast majority of the trading and citizen class. Safe-conducts were readily granted,⁴ and while the terms were being discussed an order was issued, dated April 10th,⁵ forbidding any Englishmen to take service with either side. This order was proclaimed by a herald in Calais,⁶ and all along the March towards Boulogne; but the facts had been already reported in Paris, where they had produced their natural effect.

¹ *Tanquam eorum hereditario domino.*—BRANDO, 158. ² RYM., VIII., 716. ³ Called Charle de Labret, in GESTE, 335; BRANDO, 155; cf. Vol. II., p. 319, note 10. ⁴ RYM., VIII., 718, 726, Feb. 6th, Mar. 2nd, 1412. ⁵ *Ibid.*, 728. ⁶ MONSTR., II., 247; WAURIN, II., 144.

CHAPTER XCIII.

BOURGES.

THE message of the Dukes of Berry, Bourbon, and Orleans had been entrusted to the intrepid Friar, Jacques ¹ Le Grand, and a monk from St. Denys, named Peter of Versailles ; but in his haste to cross the strait and avoid capture, the Friar left his baggage at Boulogne, where it was seized by the Wardens of the port. Other envoys having to pass through Maine on their way to Brittany, were pursued by the Bailiff of Caen.² Their baggage was also captured, and a leathern bag, containing a copy of their instructions and other compromising documents, was forwarded to the Duke of Burgundy in Paris. The bag was opened and the contents were read before the French King and his Council, at the Hostel of St. Pol on Wednesday, April 6th, 1412.³ In it were found parchments signed and sealed by the three Dukes and the Count of Alençon, blanks being left on the sheets to be filled in as the envoys should see fit. There were also sealed letters addressed

¹ ST. DENYS, IV., *626, 658. JUV., 475, wrongly says that he was captured. In GUTHRIE, II., 439, he is "Mr. James the Great!" For a note on him, see Vol. III., p. 88, note 2. He had dedicated a translation of his *Archilogosophie* to the Duke of Orleans, and presented it to him as a New Year's gift on Jan. 1st, 1402.—DELISLE, I., 99; and he wrote a book on *Bonnes Mœurs*, which he addressed to the Duke of Berry.—DELISLE, I., 60. In TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 72, the bearer of the message is a knight, richly supplied with 12 horses, who sailed from Bordeaux. In GESTE, 393, he is called Casin de Sereinviller. ² MONSTR., II., 236; BRANDO, 158. ³ WAURIN, II., 140; MONSTR., II., 238.

to the King of England and his four sons, to his wife, Queen Joan, and several English nobles, as well as to the Duke of Brittany and his brother Arthur, who had been brought¹ up in the retinue of the late Duke of Orleans. In the paper of instructions the envoys were told to state their case cautiously, and not to disclose all at once the fact that the French Dukes were willing to recognise the English King as their feudal lord. If they found that their presence was welcome, they were to have a private interview with Henry, in which they were to offer their assistance in putting down the Irish, Welsh, and Scots, and if there were "any other countries on the coast" (meaning Normandy), over which the English King had any rights, they might also offer to help him even against these. In return they were to ask for the help of 300 English lances and 3000 archers, whose pay would be guaranteed for four months.

The presence of the English in Paris, during the previous winter, had been concealed from the French King; for, mad and all as he was, his councillors knew that he would rather have fought² them than bought them, and such a revelation as the bag of letters³ now moved him to tears. The Dauphin and the other lords present dropped on their knees and begged for a declaration of war against these traitors, who would depose him and destroy his capital.⁴ As to the Duke of Burgundy, the discovery put an end to all schemes of marriage and alliance with England, and it is likely that he was only too glad to turn his back upon the past. He took a virtuous tone, denounced his rivals as Judases for trying

¹ Artur fut nourry en sa jeunesse avec monseigneur d'Orleans, qui fut tué a Paris.—ST. PAUL, 68. ² JUV., 473; GESTE, 571. ³ COSNEAU, 24. ⁴ THOMASSY, XXVII.; quoting ORDONNANCES DES ROIS, IX., 654.

the tools that he had just laid down, and prepared to march against them before the English could arrive again.

But, in the meantime, the interests of the traitors had been well advanced in London. The envoys of the Dukes had been down to see King Kenry at Eltham,¹ who told them that he had a treaty with the Duke of Burgundy, as far as regarded Flanders, but promised them an answer before Easter.² The Queen³ and the Prince of Wales⁴ opposed the change of front, preferring rather to work with the Duke of Burgundy, and carry out the marriage with his daughter. But the Prince was under a cloud; the King was eager for the complete recovery of Guienne before he died; and by the present proposal, the vast counties of Poitou and Angoulême, together with 1500 fortresses, would return to the English allegiance. The opportunity was not to be thrown away; the offer was too tempting; the envoys of the Duke of Burgundy were bested; and after many secret conferences, those of his rival entered into terms. On May 18th,⁵ 1412, the details were finally drawn up and accepted on both sides, in presence of the King, in the city of London.

The King of England was to send 1000 men-at-arms and

¹ WAURIN, II., 147. Called "Sombreset" in TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 73; or "Windsor" in GESTE, 394. ² TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 73; or before August, according to GESTE, 398. ³ TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 73, represents that she sent one of her squires, named "Carman," across to disclose the whole matter to the Duke of Burgundy. He is called "Carmien," in GESTE, 394. ⁴ ST. DENYS, IV., 658; CHRON. LOND., 93. ⁵ RYM., VIII., 738-743, 763; KAL. AND INV., II., 84; DEP. KEEP. 45th REPT., I., 316; dated May 8th, in MONSTR., II., 339; WAUR., III., 156; followed by HALLE, 30 a; GRAFTON, 438. CLAUS., 13 H. IV., 7, shows that 26s. 8d. was paid to three clerks (Thos. Harland, Wm. Preston, and Richd. Selby) for writing out the agreement, which consists of 113 long lines, in CLAUS., 13 H. IV., 9 d. They also received 10s. for green wax and six silk cords for sealing, and ptica dñm pteriarum et querschæ.

3000 archers, who would rendezvous at Blois as soon as possible. Immediately on their arrival they would be waged¹ for three months; and in return for this service the French lords bound themselves to recognise the King of England as their superior lord for all Aquitaine, to admit English troops into the principal towns, and ultimately to hand over the lands themselves on the death of the respective holders. Twenty towns² in the valleys of the Lot, the Drot, and the Dordogne, many of which had only just fallen, were to be at once restored to English hands. The county of Poitou, which stretched almost to the Loire, was to remain in the hands of the Duke of Berry for the remainder of his lifetime, but he would do homage for it to King Henry as his lawful suzerain. English garrisons should at once occupy Poitiers,³ Lusignan, and Niort; and on the Duke's death, which might be soon looked for, as he was already nearly 80 years⁴ old, the whole county should revert to the English crown. Similarly with Angoulême,⁵ where the English would occupy Chateaufort on the Charente, during the lifetime of the Duke of Orleans, and the commanders of all the other fortresses in the county should be such as the English King could rely on to deliver up the places when the Duke should die. The Duke of Orleans was also to do homage for the county of Perigord,⁶ and the Count of Armagnac for his possessions

¹ GREG. CHRON., 106; CAPGR., 300. ² *Viz.*, Bazas, St. Macaire, La Réole, Castel Culher, St. Foy, Pellegrue, La Salvetat, Port Ste. Marie, Penes d'Agenois, St. Pastour, Clermont (near Agen), Ville Réal, Montpasier, Beaumont, Moliers, Ville Franche, Ville Dache (?), Caylus (on the Bonnette), Naugeat (?) Figeac (in Querci).—RVM., VIII., 739. ³ GESTE, 397. ⁴ BOURGEOIS, JOURN., 634; MONSTR., II., 284. ⁵ The county had been granted to Louis, Duke of Orleans, Oct. 6th, 1394. —JARRY, 126. ⁶ Granted to Louis, Duke of Orleans, Jan. 23rd, 1400.—JARRY, 219.

in Armagnac and Rouergue. The French lords would then help the King of England to recover and hold his own, and the King of England would restore peace to the two countries as God should prosper him; and to this end, he would make no terms with the Duke of Burgundy, his sons, brothers, or any of his kin.

Finding himself foiled by the superior treason of his rivals, the Duke of Burgundy prepared to attack Guienne. To counteract his energies in this direction, a significant message¹ was sent to the Flemish towns, asking if they agreed with the hostile policy of the Duke; for, if so, they must forego all benefit of the commercial treaty so lately and so laboriously secured;² and when it appeared that the Flemings were not³ prepared to risk the consequences of another war, the English lost no further time.

The proposals of the French lords were regarded as the result of God's⁴ prompting. The King would go himself, and troops⁵ were to muster in London by June 15th, 1412. On April 16th⁶ orders were sent to the ports that no ships were to leave the country except those actually laden with wool; barges, balingers,⁷ and sailors were secured

¹ RYM., VIII., 737; ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 28; MONSTR., II., 260; WAURIN, II., 149. ² Vol. IV., p. 25. ³ RYM., VIII., 765, 767. ⁴ See proclamation, dated May 16th, 1412, in CLAUS., 13 H. IV., 16 d; PRIV. SEAL, 655/7218. On the other hand, the supporters of Benedict considered that the condition of France was due to the subtraction.—MART., ANEC., II., 1488. ⁵ The muster from the Duchy of Lancaster amounted to 17 knights and 63 squires.—DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 35'. ⁶ CLAUS., 13 H. IV., 19; also CLAUS., 13 H. IV., 17, May 13th, 1412. ⁷ In 1392 the hire of one balinger and six passagers (see Vol. IV., p. 26, note 2) from Calais to Dover together with pontage, boatage between the shore and the ship, and portage of harness on land amounted to £25 10s.—DERBY ACCTS., 279. In TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 135, 4 (no date), from TRÉSOR DES CHARTRES, SUPPLÉMENT, J., 992, balinger = balinier,

at Yarmouth¹ and the Channel Islands;² joiners, sawyers, plumbers, caulkers,³ carpenters,⁴ and labourers were pressed⁵ into the service to make or repair ships as needed; and on May 18th⁶ an order was issued requiring all ships of 20 tontite⁷ and over, together with the balingers and their crews, to be at Southampton by June 23rd, to cross to France with the King—if God would.

The French Dukes received the English King's written promise at Bourges⁸ in May, 1412; but by this time the game was running heavily against them. They had been attacked in Maine, in Alençon, Poitou, Armagnac, and Beaujolais; everywhere their cause had been fated to disaster; and their King himself was now preparing to enter the field against them. On May 6th, 1412,⁹ Charles VI. took the oriflamme¹⁰ from the altar at St. Denys, and marched at the head of the attacking force. Attended by the Dauphin and the Duke of Burgundy, he left Paris in the blazing heat¹¹ on Sunday, May 8th,¹² just at the time of year when his worst accessions of madness were due.¹³ Following the valley of the Yonne he reached the

¹ PAT., 13 H. IV., I, 28 d, May 26th, 1412; where Geoffrey Pampling of Yarmouth is to charter 40 men for the Gracedieu (navis). *Ibid.*, Sep. 27th, 1412, has thirty-two men for the Paul (balingier). For similar orders dated Ap. 18th, 23rd, 26th, June 15th, 1412, etc., see PAT., 13 H. IV., 2, 30 d, where the ships are called "Thomas Gautron," "Thomas of London," etc. ² PAT., 13 H. IV., 2, 22 d. ³ Calfactores.—FOR. ACCTS., 13 H. IV. Pro tabulis pyche clavis et lyno pro kalfact' in predicta nave.—DERBY ACCTS., 186. See NICOLAS, NAVY, II., 444; DU CANGE, s.v. Calafatare. ⁴ CHAUC. (S.), III., 165. ⁵ PAT., 13 H. IV., 2, 36 d, Ap. 23rd, 1412. ⁶ PAT., 13 H. IV., 2, 22 d. ⁷ ROT. PARL., IV., 365. *I.e.*, capable of carrying 20 tons of wine. Cf. "Tontygh."—HALLIWELL, 881. ⁸ MONSTR., II., 257. ⁹ ST. DENYS, IV., 630. ¹⁰ For description, see METZ, 43, ung glaive tout doré ou est attachié une bannière vermeille. This was the banner of St. Denys.—LEROUX DE LINCY, XII., 144, 257-259. ¹¹ BAYE, II., 76, 81; BOURGEOIS, 63. ¹² ITIN., 388; MONSTR., II., 258; BAYE, II., 66, 67-70. Not May 7th, as COCHON, 261. ¹³ WALSH, II., 212.

bridge over the Loire at La Charité on Whitsunday, May 22nd,¹ and after breaking up all opposition, settled down to the siege of Bourges on Saturday, June 11th, 1412,² with an army of 100,000 men,³ among them being 100 English archers under the Savoyard Amé de Viry, Bailiff of Macon, who had been wasting the lands of the Duke of Bourbon about Beaujeu and Villefranche on the right bank of the Saone.⁴

In the North of France the English had already got to work. A small force had put out from the harbour at Calais, and sailed round to the south of the estuary of the Canche, where they landed and set fire to Berck.⁵ Others sallied out from Guînes, and captured the fortress of Balinghen.⁶ News of their activity reached the French King at Sens on May 15th,⁷ and the Count of St. Pol was despatched to Boulogne to keep them in check by an attack upon Guînes, where the castle was manned by a garrison of Hollanders. The Frenchmen advanced to the town, each carrying a faggot to fling into the moat. Crossing on the heaped knitches,⁸ they scaled or broke in the palisade,⁹ with which John Norbury¹⁰ had lately enclosed the lower court, and fired some of the buildings

¹ ITIN., 388. Not May 29th, as JUV., 475. ² ITIN., 389; ST. DENYS, IV., 664; MONSTR., II., 270; WAURIN, II., 152; COUSINOT, 142; BAYE, II., 73; BRANDO, 159; PASTORALET, 720; BOURGEOIS, 636; RAYNAL, II., 470-486. Not June 9th, as COCHON, 262. LANNOY (II), who was present, wrongly dates it 1410; GRUEL (8) gives 1413. ³ MONSTR., II., 271. ⁴ ST. DENYS, IV., 648; MONSTR., II., 255, 271, 276; BAYE, II., 27; TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, III, 117; GESTE, 503, 524, 553. For his previous attacks in 1409, see CABARET, 294-302. ⁵ MONSTR., II., 266. ⁶ *Ibid.*, 259; see Vol. III., p. 60, note 5. No traces of the castle now remain.—ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 333. ⁷ MONSTR., II., 266; WAURIN, II., 151; ITIN., 388. ⁸ WYCL. (A.), I., 97; HALLIWELL, 498. ⁹ Laquelle estoit close de bon palis.—MONSTR., II., 268. Not "a fewe old pales about pore mens gardeins," as HALLE, 31; GRAFTON, 440. The logs had been shaped at Battle in Sussex, and shipped at Winchelsea and Rye.—PAT., 10 H. IV., 1, 20 d. ¹⁰ Vol. III., p. 161, note 3.

in it. But they could make no impression on the castle¹ which crowned the hill above. The defenders rained stones upon them, and they were compelled to retire to Boulogne, whereupon the troops at Calais kept up spasmodic raiding at their will.²

But it was now past midsummer, and the great English force had not yet sailed for France. For awhile King Henry had clung to the hope that he might yet be able to head the troops in person; and estimates were drawn, showing that, at least, £10,000³ would be required to carry out the plans upon this royal scale. But money was still too tight for such extravagance; and, moreover, it was now obvious to all that the King was visited by grievous sickness at the hand of God.⁴ The Prince of Wales being for the moment impossible, his brother Thomas, now 24 years of age,⁵ was appointed to command the expedition, on June 8th, 1412.⁶ The Duke of York⁷ and his brother Richard,⁸ Admiral Sir Thomas Beaufort, now Earl of Dorset,⁹ and the Earls of Ormonde,¹⁰ Oxford,¹¹ and Salisbury¹² were to accompany him, together with eight

¹ For picture of it in 1520, see CROKE, I., 82. For ground plan in 1556, with the great tower, known as the Catt or Vat (*la cuve*), see ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 300, 326, 342; also in LIFE OF LORD GREY OF WILTON (Camd. Soc.), fr. COTTON MS., AUGUSTUS, I., II., 23. ² *Prædas magnas conducebant*.—BRANDO, 159. *E.g.*, in Sep., 1412, under the Earl of Warwick and Sir Francis Court.—MONSTR., II., 302. The latter was soon back in England, for ISS. ROLL, 14 H. IV., MICH. (Nov., 3rd 1412), records payment of 200 marks for expenses of King's Chamber per manus Francisci de Court militis. ³ ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 33, 120. ⁴ OTT., 270. ⁵ Vol. III., p. 324, note 5. For his effigy, see GOUGH, II., Pt. 2, 127; DOYLE, I., 397. ⁶ RYM., VIII., 745. ⁷ For his safe-conduct and powers of general attorney, dated July 1st, 3rd, 1412, see FR. ROLL, 13 H. IV., 7, 10. ⁸ TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 135, 2 (Nov. 14th, 1412). ⁹ So called in CLAUS., 13 H. IV., 10, July 11th, 1412. ¹⁰ James Butler (Vol. II., pp. 129, 133; FR. ROLL, 13 H. IV., 10), who had just come of age and entered on his father's vast estates.—CLAUS., 13 H. IV., 5 (May 23rd, 1412); PRIV. SEAL, 655/7225, 7259; WARE, 67. ¹¹ Richard de Veer.—FR. ROLL, 13 H. IV., 10. ¹² Thomas Montague.—Vol. III., p. 286, note 4; FR. ROLL, 13 H. IV., 14.

barons,¹ 28 knights,² and a vast retinue of squires,³ London and Dartmouth merchants, fishmongers, tailors, cutlers, Gascons⁴ and Florentines.⁵ All were suitably mounted and arrayed; £3170 was allotted to pay their wages in transit; and the whole force was to muster at Southampton on July 6th, where shipping would be ready for the transport of 8000 horses. The citizens of London lent 10,000 marks;⁶ Norwich, Canterbury, Salisbury, and Winchester were all ready with

¹ Including young Robert Lord Willoughby, called Wilbi in TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 135, 2. ² The following names of knights occur in FR. ROLL, 13 H. IV., 7, 8, viz., William Marny, Walter de la Pole, Wm. Bowet, John Carbonell, Wm. Bardolph, John Stranley or Strelley (not Stanley, as CARTE, FR. ROLL, II., 206), Thomas Charles, Andrew Ecton or Eketon, Thomas Knoton, John Brewes (Sussex), Gilbert Kyghley, John Kyghley, Wm. Echingham, John Colvil (RYM., VIII., 752), Edw. Arundel, and John Cornwall (JUV., 477). ³ The squires are endless (far more than appear in CARTE, FR. ROLL, II., 206); e.g., Wm. Perwyche, John Yeo (CLAUS., 13 H. IV., 4, 6, 10; FR. ROLL, 13 H. IV., 8, 10), Hy. Inglese, Wm. Armigere, Wm. Cone, John Cooke, John Frawnces, Richd. Clynt, John Rode, Thomas Merehay or Merelay of Bristol, Wm. Garneys of Lowestoft, Hamo Claxton, Wm. Thornton, Wm. Ferrou of Wattisfield, Hy. Brome, Wm. Clopton, Wm. Botiller, Edward Bristowe, Hy. Veel, John Gooling, John Exeter, John Bayens, Hugh Curteys, Edmund Charles, Hugh Dyer (Salop), Richard Ashton (Chester), Edmund Arnold (Dartmouth), Vincent Cleve, Peter Mavaire, Hy. Bracy, Baldwin Veer, John Basset, Wm. Cobham, John Dobyll (Tenterden), John Fastolf (Vol. III., p. 168; FR. ROLL, 13 H. IV., 12, July 10th, 1412; RYM., VIII., 757), and Thomas de la Croix (FR. ROLL, 13 H. IV., 10, July 7th, 1412), who had just returned from a distant journey *ad longinquas partes mundi* (possibly to Ofen.—Vol. II., p. 403, note 1) on the King's business. He had started in Feb., 1412, with forty armed men and horses in a Dartmouth cog.—FR. ROLL, 13 H. IV., 17, 19, Feb. 6th, 8th, 1412; CLAUS., 13 H. IV., 27, Dec. 23rd, 1411; PAT., 13 H. IV., 1, 10 d, Feb. 5th, 1412. For £40 paid to him for his journey, and £36 to Edmund Arnold of Dartmouth for the cog, see ISS. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH., Feb. 4th, 9th, 1412. In PRIV. SEAL, 655/7273, July 12th, 1412, Wm. Swinburn, Captain of Marck (Vol. II., p. 89, note 6), has power to appoint a deputy so that he may join the Duke of Clarence. ⁴ E.g., Gaucelin Darzac, Bertrand du Chastel, Wm. Peytevin of Bordeaux. ⁵ E.g., Nicholas Orlandyn, Emery and Andrew Roseley, Conrad Rostyn.—PAT., 13 H. IV., 2, 21, Sep. 6th, 1412; FR. ROLL, 13 H. IV., 12. ⁶ RYM., VIII., 747, 760, 762, 767; ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 31; RAMSAY, I., 136.

advances secured on the next collection of the subsidy; the Florentine and Venetian Companies, and the Bishops and richer Abbots poured in prompt supplies; and the humbler clerks¹ put in their savings in expectation of fat benefices to come. The Duke of York brought 260 men-at-arms² into the field, Admiral Beaufort other 240 and 700 archers,³ and Sir John Cornwall 90 men-at-arms and 270 archers. All were bound for five months' service, the knights receiving 2s. each per day, the squires 1s. 6d., and the archers 9d. for the first two months, and afterwards "according to what the Lords of France should pay." Lord Thomas was to have a third of all that they won in war, and any persons of the French blood-royal or chief captains⁴ who might be taken prisoners, were to fall to his share. On July 19th, 1412,⁵ he was created Earl of Albemarle and Duke of Clarence by his father at Rotherhithe,⁶ in presence of Archbishops Arundel and Bowet, Bishops Langley and Bubwith, and other members of the Council. The title of Albemarle⁷ had been forfeited by the Duke of York on his previous disgrace, and it was now conferred on account of the large possessions which Thomas held as Lord of Holderness,⁸ a dignity which was always associated with the Honor of Albemarle.⁹ As Duke of Clarence he took up a title held by his father's uncle Lionel,¹⁰

¹ RYM., VIII., 756; ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 32; BLOMFIELD, II., 170.
² RYM., VIII., 749. ³ *Ibid.*, 750. ⁴ "Chief cheveytynz," see indenture with Sir John Cornwall, dated London, June 12th, 1412, in TRANS. FOR. REC., 135, 2; REPT. ON FED. D., 147; ARCH. DU ROYAUME, K. 58, No. 1, where "la tierce de la tierce" seems to be a mistake of the copyist. ⁵ AD QUOD DAMN., 97; RYM., VIII., 757; PRIV. SEAL, 655/7279, dated Beauregard, July 15th, 1412; DOYLE, I., 29, 397. ⁶ See Vol. IV., p. 53, note 1. ⁷ CHRON. GILES, 61. ⁸ He is called Lord of Holderness in 1408.—DUGD., II., 196; WILLS OF KINGS, 232. On his seal in Cornwall's indenture, dated June 12th, 1412, he is *dm̄* de Holdern'.—TRANS. FOR. REC., 135, 2. ⁹ COMPLETE PEERAGE, I., 57; DUGD., I., 60. ¹⁰ NOTES AND QUERIES, 7th S., IX., 481.

in connection with the great Honor of Clare in Suffolk. On July 11th he was appointed Lieutenant of Aquitaine, and about the same time he married Margaret Holland, widow of the late Earl of Somerset,¹ and with her received two-thirds of the manor of Corfe Castle.² A messenger from Pope John XXIII. was in England at the time, and granted the necessary dispensation for the marriage.³

Early in August, 1412,⁴ the fleet cleared from the haven at Southampton to the sound of trump and naker.⁵ There were 14 large ships fluttering endlong⁶ with worsted getons,⁷ broidered with the arms of St. George; and prayers, fasts, and processions to secure the favour of Heaven were ordered for every Wednesday and Friday in all the churches throughout England, till their safe return.⁸ The French had expected them on the coast of Picardy, and had posted 800 men at the seaports to give them a prompt repulse;⁹ but after being driven back into Southampton water again by adverse winds, the ships

¹ Vol. III., p. 305, note 3; HOLT, LANGLEY, 334. ² Vol. III., p. 262, note 3; PAT., 13 H. IV., 2, 6, July 16th, 1412; CAL. ROT. PAT., 259; PRIV. SEAL, 655/7284. On Feb. 2nd, 1413, he was granted the reversion of the castles of Hawarden and Mold, valued at 400 marks p.a.—DEP. KEEP. 36th REPT., 109; Vol. III., p. 286, note 4. ³ The late Earl being reckoned as the Duke's uncle.—EUL., III., 420; CHRON. GILES, 62; CHRON. R. II.-HENRY VI., p. 37; CROYL., 499. In Nov., 1412, the Duke despatched his Chancellor, John Seurmaistre, to Rome.—TYLER, I., 277. ⁴ OTT., 271. WALS., II., 288, gives about Aug. 15th, which is too late. CHRON. LOND., 94, says Thursday, Aug. 1st, but his dates are not quite accurate; Aug. 1st, 1412, fell on a Monday. ⁵ GESTE, 450; VEN. STATE PP., I., 53; FROIS., XIV., 157. See the picture in FROIS. (JOHNES), IV., 171; KNIGHT, II., 177, from HARL. MS., 4379. For "nakerer," see PRUTZ, LVII., 104; DERBY ACCTS., XCVI., 133, 137, 142; CHAUC., KNIGHT, 2513; HALLIWELL, 570. ⁶ GOWER, CONF., 369. ⁷ L. T. R. ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCTS., 12, 4, APP. C.; DERBY ACCTS., L., 152, 343. ⁸ CONC., III., 337.

Cf. *Mainte veu ont fait et maint cierge alumer,*

Maint don offrir et a mainte abaye.—DESCHAMPS, IV., 267.

⁹ ST. DENYS, IV., 674.

made straight for Normandy; and on Aug. 10th,¹ landed 1500 men-at-arms, 3000 archers, and 2000 light-armed varlets² at St. Vaast in the Bay of La Hogue.³ They ravaged the Côtentin, and after plundering their way unopposed through Normandy they entered Maine, where they were received by the Count of Alençon and Arthur,⁴ brother to the Duke of Brittany,⁵ with a force of 1500 knights and squires.⁶ Here they were joined also by 600 Gascons, who had just been disbanded at Bourges, from whom they would learn, without possibility of doubt, the desperate prospects of the French Dukes who had called them to their help.

For more than a month the besieged in Bourges had looked for their arrival in vain. The troops were worn with watching⁷ and hopeless of their wage; the besiegers also, men and horses, were dying of dysentery⁸ by thousands in the swamps of the Auron;⁹ and the great tribulation seemed verily to have at length begun.¹⁰ Among the victims was young Giles of Brittany, third son of Queen Joan of England, who was about 17 years old, and seemed to be on the threshold of a brilliant career. Since his mother's departure for England in

¹ CHRON. LOND., 94; COCHON, 263. ² ST. DENYS, IV., 704. In EUL., III., 419, the whole force is given as 20,000 men. In GRUEL, 10, it is 10,000; COCHON (263) says 6000 men-at-arms and 4000 archers. ³ MONSTR., II., 291; COUSINOT, 142; WAURIN, II., 153; CHRON. GILES, 61; CHRON. LOND., 93; HALLE, 31 a; GRAFTON, 440; TYLER, I., 276. ⁴ Called Comes de Ritzemont (*i.e.*, Richmond) in CHRON. DES DUCS DE BOURGOGNE, III., 238. He was born Aug. 24th, 1393 (GRUEL, 3); not 1397, as MAS-LATRIE, 1574. For his portrait in the Carthusian Church at Nantes, see LOBINEAU, I., 665. For his seal, see *ibid.*, II., CCX. His other brothers were Giles (omitted in ST. PAUL, 50), BRANDO, 86; and Richard.—GRUEL, 2, II; ITIN., 566. For their ages, see COSNEAU, 660. ⁵ TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 82; GESTE, 417; BRANDO, 158. ⁶ GRUEL, 9. ⁷ MONSTR., II., 281. LANNOY (II) was present with the besieging force, but gives no details. He wrongly gives the year as 1410.—Cf. Vol. II., p. 300, note 7. ⁸ BAYE, II., 80, 84; DOUET D'ARCQ, I., 353, 355. ⁹ RAYNAL, II., 477. ¹⁰ WAUR., III., 158.

1402,¹ he had been brought up in Paris with the Dauphin Louis,² and a strong attachment had sprung up between them.³ In 1411,⁴ Giles took sides with the Duke of Burgundy, and was employed to check the advance of some Breton troops, who should have operated with the Orleanists under the command of his brother Arthur. In May, 1412,⁵ he visited his mother in England, doubtless with the object of preventing, if possible, the despatch of English help to the Orleanists. Failing in this he crossed to Brittany, and had some "big words"⁶ with his brother for supporting the English. Thence he went to Bourges with the Dauphin, but fell a victim to the flux, and died at Cosne on the Upper Loire on July 19th, 1412.⁷ His body was carried to Vannes, where it was buried in St. Peter's Church.

With death thus stalking in and around the walls of Bourges, it is no wonder that all soon sighed for peace. On the Eve of St. John's Day (June 23rd) the Dauphin, then a youth of 15, had been at Mass in the camp, when he turned with a beaming face to his confessor and said, "Oh! that we could bring these two Johns (*i.e.*, the Dukes of Burgundy and Berry) together in peace and joy!"⁸ So just as the English

¹ Vol. I., p. 309. The boys left Nantes on Sunday, Nov. 19th, and reached Paris, Dec. 10th, 1402.—*ITIN.*, 330, 331; *ST. DENYS*, III., 40; *GRUEL*, 5; *MEYER*, 318 a. ² Born Jan. 22nd, 1397.—*MONSTR.*, I., 110; *CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC*, 109; *JARRY*, 189; *MAS-LATRIE*, 1524; *EC. DES CHARTES*, 4th SER., IV., 479. His brother Charles, the Dauphin, died (at the age of nine years) on Jan. 12th, 1402.—*ST. DENYS*, II., 770; and Louis was made Duke of Guienne, Jan. 14th, 1402.—*ORDONNANCES*, VIII., 418; Vol. I., p. 155. ³ *ST. DENYS*, III., 130; *COSNEAU*, 7. ⁴ *ST. DENYS*, IV., 612. ⁵ *RYM.*, VIII., 744; *FR. ROLL*, 13 H. IV., 15. Two Breton envoys whose passport is dated Mar. 2nd, 1412 (*RYM.*, VIII., 777), were lodged with the Black Friars in London from May 3rd to July 21st, 1412, at a cost of £687 2s. 6d.—*Q. R. HOUSEHOLD*, $\frac{8}{13}$, APP. B.; cf. Vol. III., p. 105. ⁶ "Grandes paroles."—*GRUEL*, 8; *COSNEAU*, 23. ⁷ *ST. DENYS*, IV., 690; *MONSTR.*, II., 290; *DOUET D'ARCO*, I., 354; *COSNEAU*, 26; *ART DE VER.*, II., 907. ⁸ *CHRISTINE DE PISAN* reports the words on the authority of those who heard them.—*THOMASSY*, pp. xxx.,

were making their last preparations for a start from Southampton, both besiegers and besieged came to terms for the sake of their common country. On July 12th,¹ the two Johns embraced and wept,² took wine and spice,³ and rallied each other about coming to their senses again.⁴ The Dukes of Berry, Orleans, Bourbon, and Burgundy then solemnly renounced⁵ any alliance that they might have made with England, and promised, henceforth, to help their King to fight the English as right and reason should require. On St. Germain's Day (July 30th)⁶ the Duke of Burgundy was at Auxerre, where he kissed the relics, and paid 3 francs 7 sous to the church. On Aug. 8th⁷ the terms were accepted on both sides. On the 22nd⁸ the Duke of Orleans again went through a solemn form of reconciliation with his father's murderer in the great court before the church of St. Germain at Auxerre, and pledged himself to abandon all engagements entered into with the English;⁹ the two Dukes riding through the streets

151; from the *LIVRE DE LA PAIX*, Pt. I., begun Sep. 1st and finished Nov. 30th, 1412.

¹ Not 15th, as *RECUEIL*, 383. ² *JUV.*, 478. ³ *ST. DENYS*, IV., 700; *MONSTR.*, II., 285; Vol. III., p. 26. ⁴ *ST. DENYS*, IV., 692. *Tractaverunt se invicem amicabiliter.*—*CHRON. DES DUCS DE BOURGOGNE*, III., 240. ⁵ *ST. DENYS*, IV., 694, 714; *MONSTR.*, II., 218; *JUV.*, 478. For renunciation by Duke of Berry on July 22nd, 1412, at Argennes (not Argentune, as *SOLLY-FLOOD*, 95) between Les Roches and La Charité-sur-Loire (probably La Chartre on the Loir) near Montoire, see *HARL. MS.*, I., 255 [431, 119 (105 b)]; printed in *CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, LETTRES*, II., 328. ⁶ *LABORDE*, I., 38. ⁷ *BRANDO*, 160. ⁸ *ST. DENYS*, IV., 708; *MONSTR.*, II., 292; *BAYE*, II., 83; *DOUET D'ARCO*, I., 352, 354; *FENIN*, 28; *ORDONNANCES*, x., 18. ⁹ In *TRANSCR. FOR. REC.*, 135, 3, are letters dated at Auxerre:—(a) Aug. 22nd, 1412, in which the French King requires the Duke of Orleans to renounce his alliance with the English. (b) Aug. 23rd, in which Philip, Count of Vertus, brother to the Duke of Orleans, renounces the English, protesting that he never entered into alliance with them. (c) Aug. 24th, in which the Duke of Orleans announces his renunciation to King Henry IV.—*Cf. REPT. ON FCED. D.*, 146. For similar letter to the Duke of Burgundy, dated Auxerre, Aug. 23rd, 1412, see *COTTON MS. GALBA*, B. I., 82.

on one horse,¹ to demonstrate to all their brotherhood and love. But naughty tongues "talked gab"² behind their backs, and when the recorder in Paris made the official entry of bonfires³ and Te Deums for the peace, he prudently wrote, "Not yet!"⁴ in the margin of his register.

The Count of Alençon,⁵ however, refused to be bound by the schedule drawn up at Bourges, and in his name the English invaders captured Chateauneuf, St. Remy, and Bellême,⁶ almost under the very walls of Dreux, where the royal troops had just scored a success. Thence they passed into Anjou, where they fired villages and sacked churches. Balked of their expected welcome by the recent reconciliation at Auxerre, they threatened to overrun the neighbouring lands of the Duke of Orleans if their promised wages were not promptly paid. On Sep. 16th⁷ they were at Chousi,⁸ within a few miles of Blois, where the Duke of Clarence wrote to the French Dukes, declining altogether to accept their renunciation of alliance. Having to live of their service,⁹ the English straightway entered the Duchy of Orleans. On Sep. 19th, they stormed and captured Meung,¹⁰ crossed the Loire¹¹ by the

¹ MONSTR., VI., 215. ² En disoient leur goulées.—*Ibid.*, II., 294.

³ Les feulx faites en criant Noel.—COCHON, 263; cf. Vol. III., p. 93, note 10. ⁴ Nondum tamen.—BAYE, II., 86; MONSTR., II., 307; ST. DENYS, IV., 746.

Cf. Ne scay se bien sera tenue (*i.e.*, la paix),

Mais je n'y ay pas grant fiance.—PASTORALET, 722.

⁵ Juv., 478. For his submission to the French King, dated Paris, Nov. 3rd, 1412, see REPT. ON FÆD. D., 147. ⁶ ST. DENYS, IV., 706; RAMSAY, I., 139. ⁷ HARL. MS., 431, II8 (105); I., 255. Not Sep. 6th, as CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, LETTRES, II., 330. ⁸ Not "Chance," as SOLLY-FLOOD, 96. ⁹ MONSTR., II., 319. ¹⁰ In HARL. MS., 431, 124 (108), is a letter showing that the Duke of Brittany had forwarded news to King Henry and Queen Joan that, on the 19th of Sep., the Duke of Clarence had stormed a strong place called *Muyr*, situat' super rivum de Leyr in Francia absque lesione notabili pugnatorum suorum, but that no news of any kind had come from the Duke direct, de quo causa admirationis assurgit. ¹¹ COUSINOT, 144.

bridge, marched across Sologne to the valley of the Indre, burnt Beaulieu¹ near Loches, and plundered Buzançais in Berry.

But France was weary of war, and all urged that those who brought the English in ought now to buy them out. It was, therefore, arranged that the French Dukes should pay them 150,000 crowns, *viz.*, 100,000 on St. Andrew's Day (Nov. 30th, 1412) and the rest at the ensuing Christmas. But all this could not be found in ready cash, and a composition was made, according to which the total payment was to be raised to 210,000 crowns² (about £35,000³), *viz.*, 75,000 down and security to be given for the remainder; seven hostages, including John,⁴ Count of Angoulême, the youngest brother of the Duke of Orleans, now eight years of age,⁵ being handed over till the whole should be paid. To meet these claims the Duke of Berry had to withdraw several of the most valuable of the marvels of the goldsmith's art, given by him only seven years before to the Chapel,⁶ which he had built in his palace⁷

¹ JUV., 478; POL. VERG., 438; HALLE, 31 a; GRAFTON, 440.
² REPT. ON FÆD. D., 147; RAMSAY, I., 139. Not 300,000, as ST. DENYS, IV., 720; nor 240,000, as COUSINOT, 143. ³ In 1398 a French crown was equal to an English mail or half noble (3s. 4d.).—ACT. PARL. SCOT., I., 210; COCHRAN-PATRICK, I., 13. Yet on Dec. 13th, 1410, the English noble = 25 schilling at Lübeck, and the French crown 17½.—HR., v., 566. ⁴ REPT. ON FÆD. D., 147; MONSTR., II., 303; VI., 215. Not "William," as CHRON. GILES, 61. The rest were Macé le Borgne, Guillaume le Bouteiller, Archambaud de Villars, Essor de Pontbriant, Jean de Saveuse, and Jean d'Any. ⁵ He was born June 26th, 1404.—MAS-LATRIE, 1537. For his portrait at the Celestins, see LEROUX DE LINCY, 518. For his signature, see DELISLE, III., 315, PLATE XLIX. For notes in his own hand in COUSINOT'S CHRONICLE (MS. BIBL. NAT., 10297, which was written for him during his captivity, and bears his arms, see COUSINOT, 34, 40, 89, 90, 102. ⁶ HAZÉ, 52; RAYNAL, II., 437; GALL. CHRIST., II., 85. HIVER DE BEAUVOIR, TRÉSOR, 13-39, 51, estimates the total value at 3½ million francs of modern money. For inventory, see CHAMPEAUX ET GAUCHERY, LES TRAVAUX D'ART EXÉCUTÉS POUR JEAN DE FRANCE DUC DE BERRY, Paris, 1894. ⁷ For description, see HAZÉ, PLATE 54; RAYNAL, II., 409, 446-449; REVUE HISTORIQUE, LVII., 134, Jan., 1894.

at Bourges, to enshrine a fragment of the True Cross which his brother, Charles V., had cut off for him from the famous piece in the Sainte Chapelle in Paris. Crosses, reliquaries, tabernacles, chalices, patens, boats, censers, and alms-dishes had been already coined down to pay for the troops, and now the greatest masterpieces of all had to be pledged to buy off the hated English.

Some of these were of the rarest interest. Jean de Chateaumorant¹ had brought from Constantinople, after his return from the fruitless defence in 1402,² the head of St. Cosmas, an old iron cross covered with silver figures with Greek names from the tomb of St. Helena, the heads of St. Zacharias and St. Barbe in a silver box, half of one of the feet of St. Cyprian, half of St. Laurence's gridiron, one of St. Anthony's ribs, and the body of one of the Holy Innocents, sent specially as a present by the Doge of Venice.

With such promises the English were mollified for the moment. Negotiations were prolonged at Buzançais; and on Nov. 14th³ the little Count of Angoulême was led out on a black hackney⁴ with a long flowing tail, and handed over to the Duke of Clarence, who signed a bond of alliance with the Duke of Orleans. The Count of Alençon made his submission.⁵

¹ HIVER DE BEAUVOIR, 38, 56, 64. Called Chastiaumorant in PISAN, II., 98; or Chastelmorant in FROIS., XX., 552; MONSTR., I., 244; ST. DENYS, IV., 6. For account of him, see CABARET, XII., XV. ² Vol. I., p. 159. He was captured by the Venetians at the battle of Modon, Oct. 7th, 1403.—DELAVILLE LE ROULX, I., 184, 379, 382, 470; PISAN, II., pp. XIII., 308. ³ OTT., 272; DOUET D'ARCO, I., 359; TYLER, I., 277; RAYNAL, II., 489. For the Duke of Clarence's autograph letter signed "Thomas," and sealed Nov. 14th, 1412, from FRENCH ARCHIVES, K., 57, 29, see TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 135, 3; REPT. ON FŒD. D., 147. For French King making peace with all, see PETRI, 1032. ⁴ Bought from Master Jean de Prusse, a physician at Orleans, for 70 gold crowns, on Nov. 7th, 1412.—LABORDE, III., 259. ⁵ Dated Nov., 1412.—TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 135, 3; from FRENCH ARCHIVES, K., 57, 26.

The hostages were to be given up at Chateaufort on the Charente, as soon as all claims were satisfied. War was to cease in Guienne and Languedoc, and as far north as the Loire; and a baron, a knight, and a clerk from either side were to meet as soon as possible on the March of Picardy to treat for a final peace.

On the same day, Nov. 14th,¹ a schedule was drafted fixing the proportion of payment to be made to the different English captains. Sir John Cornwall claimed 21,375 crowns,² which were soon paid in full; and on Nov. 26th, he bound himself to serve for three months³ longer with 100 men-at-arms and 400 archers, in France and Guienne. The Duke of York claimed 36,170 crowns, and received 5430. For the remainder he took in pledge a large gold cross of Damascus work,⁴ valued at 40,000 crowns. At the base were four prophets, with the arms of the Duke of Berry, and above were Our Lady, St. John the Baptist, St. Andrew and St. Stephen seated in a tabernacle. The cross was dotted over with emeralds, pearls, sapphires, and rubies, and in the centre was a fermal⁵ enclosing large stones of great price. The claim of the Duke of Clarence was put down at 120,000 crowns. Of these he received about 40,000, together with a gold crucifix, valued at 15,000 crowns. It had three large diamonds in the hands and feet, and a ruby in the wounded side. Two angels above held a ruby sun and a

¹ TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 135, 2, 3; from FRENCH ARCHIVES, K., 57, 28, and 59, 4. ² For his receipt for 11,375 crowns on returning the "Tableau de Rome," which had been deposited with him, see LABORDE, III., 266. It was 2 ft. high and 2 ft. wide, and showed a Trinity above with a scroll, beneath was a Virgin and Child, the Emperor Octavian (*i.e.*, Augustus) and the Sibyl kneeling, and at the sides the Annunciation with Greek and Latin inscriptions.—HIVER DE BEAUVOIR, 43, 51, 52. It was returned in Oct., 1414.—RAYNAL, II., 496. ³ Dating from Nov. 24th, 1412, the day after St. Clement's Day.—TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 135, 3. ⁴ A ouvrage de Damas. ⁵ HALLIWELL, 352.

sapphire moon, and in the cross were large emeralds, rubies, and pearls. The ground at the foot was of silver-gilt,¹ enamelled with the Duke of Berry's arms, and on either side stood a Madonna and St. John in gold, with several figures below.

But the great marvel of the Chapel at Bourges was the large gold cross,² which stood above the tabernacle and contained the precious Paris chip. It was copied from the one presented to St. Louis by the Emperor Baldwin;³ it weighed 53 marks, and stood on a silver base which weighed 94 more, and in the haft was one of the veritable nails with which the Lord was pierced. Taking the value of gold at nine times that of silver, and the price of silver at 52 francs the mark, the metal alone would be valued at 29,692 francs,⁴ not to reckon the balaies⁵ or spinel rubies,⁶ and other gems with which it sparkled. This famous cross was now handed to the Duke of Clarence, together with another, known as the small emerald cross, and never found its way back to France again.⁷ The Duke then passed triumphantly on with his troops to take up his command in Guienne.⁸

Such shameful weakness on the part of France must have wakened in every Englishman, who marched unmolested from Cherbourg to Bordeaux, the passion for reconquering the lands that once had been his forefathers' by right; and it is no wonder that they threatened to come the next time, not as mercenaries to help a party, but as open enemies to claim their own.

¹ For "laton over-gilt," see GOWER, CONF., 413. ² HIVER DE BEAUVOIR, 13, 73; RAYNAL, II., 451. ³ The original was preserved at St. Denys till 1792.—HIVER DE BEAUVOIR, TRÉSOR, 49. ⁴ In 1409 the franc was worth 3s. 4d. of English money.—Q. R. ARMY, $\frac{5}{4}$; Vol. III., p. 98, note 5. ⁵ Cf. Balays.—HALLIWELL, 134. Balass.—OGILVIE, IMPERIAL DICTIONARY, I., 150. ⁶ Magnetic Aluminate (Al₂ O₃ Mgo''), called from Arabic balakh, shortened from Balakchan, a province between the Oxus and the Jaxartes.—DERBY ACCTS., 287, 335. ⁷ HIVER DE BEAUVOIR, 58. ⁸ HARD., 369, whose account is hopelessly confused.

The English troops wintered at Bordeaux, where they found the climate as mild as an English spring,¹ and lived as comfortably as if they had been in London.² On Dec. 22nd, the Duke of Berry presented the Duke of Clarence with two volumes,³ in stamped scarlet with silver-gilt clasps, containing the ditties of Guillaume de Machault,⁴ the musician-poet of Champagne, as a memento from the magnificent library⁵ which he had collected in the Big Tower⁶ at Bourges and his neighbouring castle at Mehun⁷ on the Yevre. Such compliments, however, were no guarantee of peace. Supplies of bows, arrows, and strings⁸ were forwarded to the Duke of Clarence from England, and he made some effort to recover

¹ CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, LETTRES, II., 323. ² ST. DENYS, IV., 732.
³ DELISLE, I., 63; III., 193; HIVER DE BEAUVOIR, 89; REVUE ARCHÉOLOGIQUE, VII., 157. For MSS. now in BIBL. NAT., see ORIENT LATIN, I., XXVIII. No. 22546 is in two vols., No. 9221 has signature of the Duke of Berry; this was another copy which he promised to the Sainte Chapelle at Bourges in 1404.—DELISLE, III., 193. ⁴ See MACHAULT, VOIR-DIT, IX.; ORIENT LATIN, I., VIII.-XVIII.; MICHON, 83-98; LEBER, XVI., 376-384; HIVER DE BEAUVOIR, TRÉSOR, 108; PISAN, I., 298; DESCHAMPS, III., 259; IV., 37; V., 53; VIII., 178. ⁵ For catalogues of this library drawn up in 1402, 1413, and 1416, see DELISLE, I., 56, 59; III., 170-194; REVUE ARCHÉOLOGIQUE, VII., 144-168; BULLETIN DU BIBLIOPHILE, 1837, pp. 601-614; HIVER DE BEAUVOIR, TRÉSOR, 107, 109-124; BARROIS, 87; RAYNAL, II., 452; BLADES, I., 280; BASTARD, *passim*; BECKER, 297; GOTTLIEB., 109. For other mediæval libraries, see Vol. II., p. 81; Vol. III., p. 88, note 1; Vol. IV., p. 31, note 5. For Pavia founded by Galeazzo, circ. 1378, and Naples by Ferdinand I., see BRACON, I., LI. For the Louvre by Charles V., catalogue by Gilles Mallet (1373), see BARROIS, 49; PRAET, I-149 (930 items), with supplement (931-1122), made Apr. 11th, 1380 (= pp. 194-210), and new inventory, made Jan. 24th, 1411 (= pp. 150-187). ⁶ For position of the "Grosse Tour" in the centre of the town, see RAYNAL, II., 86, 408; HAZÉ, 36, PLATE 31. ⁷ For description, see RAYNAL, II., 412. For signature of the Duke of Berry, see DELISLE, III., 311, PLATE XLVI. For his seal, see REV. ARCHÉOL., VII., 139; RAYNAL, II., 446. For his monument (erected temp. Charles VII.) now in the Musée du Cher at Bourges, see RAYNAL, II., 512-515; HAZÉ, 49, 50, PLATES 39-52. For kneeling figure of him now in the Cathedral at Bourges, see GIRARDOT, 99; HAZÉ, 55. For other portraits of him, see MONTFAUCON, III., 81. ⁸ DEVON, 318.

ground lost within the last few years; but he was baffled by the resistance of the Count of Armagnac,¹ and when he heard of his father's death,² he returned to England with a portion of his troops by sea in April, 1413,³ taking the Count of Angoulême⁴ with him. On April 18th, 1413,⁵ he authorised John Fastolf,⁶ who was then Deputy-Constable of the Castle at Bordeaux,⁷ and William Swinburn (probably a brother of the late Mayor), to receive instalments of his claim from the French Dukes. But the Duke of Orleans was wretchedly poor,⁸ and only small sums were paid in a succession of years; so that when the Duke of Clarence was killed in 1421, there were still 64,790 crowns unpaid; and the Count of Angoulême was more than 30 years⁹ a hostage in England before the whole amount was discharged.

As if to guard against the risk of possible retaliation by an invading force from France, arrangements were made for walling the town of Dover. For this purpose an order was issued, dated Oct. 1st, 1412,¹⁰ authorising a tax of 1d. to be levied on every outsider who entered the town on horseback, or $\frac{1}{2}$ d. if he were on foot. Every ship that sailed into the haven was to pay 4d., and every boat 2d. It seems strange

¹ MONSTR., II., 305; DOUET D'ARCO, I., 364. ² MONSTR., II., 339. Ou nouvelles ouyrent que trespasé fut leur roy Henry dont hastivement retournerent en Angleterre.—COUSINOT, 144. ³ Post Pascha (*i.e.*, after April 23rd).—EUL., III., 420; OTT., 273; HARD., 373. For documents signed by him at Bordeaux on Feb. 5th and April 17th, 1413, see RYM., VIII., 774; TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 135, 2; SOLLY-FLOOD, 102. ⁴ FENIN, 7, 32; REPT. ON FÆD. D., 146, 243, where date should be 1413, not 1412. ⁵ FRENCH ARCHIVES, K., 59, 7, in TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 135, 3, dated at Bordeaux. Not 1412 as *ibid.*, 135, 7. Fastolf had already acknowledged receipt of an instalment on April 10th, 1413. ⁶ Vol. III., p. 168, note 6. ⁷ In Q. R. ARMY, $\frac{57}{2}$, $\frac{57}{2}$ (Dec. 4th, 1412, and Apr. 2nd, 1413), he is lieutenant for Sir William Farington, Constable of Bordeaux; see Vol. III., p. 274. ⁸ Ils ont ung pou d'argent.—CABARET, 310. ⁹ HALLE, 32; GRAFTON, 441. ¹⁰ PAT., 14 H. IV., 20.

that so vital a point should have remained so long without protection; and even now the scheme appears not to have been completely carried out; for on a plan¹ drawn up as late as the reign of Elizabeth, there is no indication of a wall, except on the sea-front; and Leland reported in the time of Henry VIII. that the residue of the town was never walled, as far as he could perceive.²

¹ HASTED, IV., 82.

² LEL., ITIN., VII., 103.

CHAPTER XCIV

THE PRINCE IN RETIREMENT.

THE withdrawal of the Prince of Wales from the Council had been effected without any open breach, and he had received the thanks of the Parliament for his administration on Nov. 30th, 1411.¹ But, for all that, he did not take kindly to seclusion, and the hearts of many of the English nobles went out with him. The country was already wearying of a sickly King, and many eyes had turned towards his heir as to a coming Alexander.² They had seen in him the well and spring of knighthood, who eschewed the cursed vice of sloth and idleness,³ and had trusted in his ruled wit and manly hardiness as an earnest of many a knightly raid, which should once again thrust down the pride of England's foes.⁴ Yet he had many detractors,⁵ who swayed the King's good thoughts away from him. Archbishop Arundel was certainly against him;⁶ and

¹ ROT. PARL., III., 649.

² Yit hope I to see his (Alexander's) heir in this provynce,
And that shall ye be my goode lorde the Prince.

—HOCCL., DE REG., 117.

³ LYDGATE, in S. TURNER, II., 385; TYLER, I., 399.

⁴ O worthy prynce, I trust in your manhode,
Medled with prudence and discrecioun,
That ye shulde make many a knightly rode,
And the pride of our foes threste adowne.

—HOCCL., DE REG., 142.

⁵ OTT., 271; ELMHAM, II; TIT. LIV., 4. ⁶ ORD. PRIV. CO., III., 186; STUBBS, III., 66. The Earl of Arundel's letter (ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 118), dated from Dawley, Dec. 9th, probably refers to this date.—STUBBS, III., 67.

now that his claws seemed drawn, charges were freely circulated that he had misapplied money entrusted to him for the defence of Calais.¹ On Aug. 2nd, 1412,² Sir William Farington and Richard Merlaw had been instructed to take the evidence of Robert Thorley, the Treasurer of Calais,³ and on Oct. 20th following, Thorley was committed to the Tower.⁴

It was during this perilous time that the Prince had a narrow escape for his life. As he was sleeping one night in the Green Room at Westminster, his attendants were roused by the bark of a spaniel. Search was made, and a man was found concealed behind the tapet.⁵ He was put to the question before the Earl of Arundel, and is said to have confessed that he had been hired by Bishop Beaufort to murder the Prince in his bed. No further proof was to be had, and the man was at once sacked and thrown into the Thames.⁶

The Prince was wishful for alliance with the Duke of Burgundy. He *fêted* his envoys⁷ when they came to England, and even when English troops were making ready to sail to the assistance of the Armagnacs, negotiators⁸ from the Prince were accepting silver cups, ewers, and hanaps from the Burgundians. Fresh family feuds were threatened when it became known that a sum of 15,000 marks,⁹ which his brother Thomas

¹ ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 34; TYLER, I., 278. ² Vol., III., p. 275, note 2; FR. ROLL, 13 H. IV., 8, shows that Thorley was going to Calais, July 28th, 1412. ³ Vol. III., p. 306, note 7; Vol. IV., p. 43. ⁴ From the custody of the Treasurer of England.—CLAUS., 14 H. IV., 29. ⁵ Vol. II., p. 247. ⁶ ROT. PARL., IV., 298; STRICKLAND, I., 502; STATE TRIALS (HOWELL), I., 371; RAMSAY, I., 140. ⁷ Vol. IV., p. 64. ⁸ *Viz.*, his chaplain called Damp (*i.e.*, Dom) Edouart, religieux moyen, and two squires, John Bouteillier (*i.e.*, Butler), and William Toubert (? Talbot).—LABORDE, I., 63. ⁹ CHRON. GILES, 62.

had expected to receive through his marriage with the widow of the Earl of Somerset, was withheld by the executors, one of whom was Bishop Beaufort, a pronounced partisan of Prince Hal; and it was only on the interference of some lords that the brothers were reconciled together.

Before the expedition sailed for France,¹ the Prince sought an interview with his father at Westminster. He arrived in London on June 30th, 1412,² and took up his quarters at Bishop Langley's Inn, where he stayed till July 11th. After confession he took the sacrament and appareled himself in state robes, to give due solemnity to the occasion, wearing a gown of blue satin, basted³ with eyelets and dangling needles wrought in silk,⁴ and on his arm a collar of SS. worked in gold. A throng of his attendants assembled in Westminster Hall; but by his express order none of them were allowed to pass the fire,⁵ while he himself advanced alone into his father's presence in the Palace within.

¹ The interview is given on the authority of the Earl of Ormonde, an eye-witness, who sailed with the Duke of Clarence at the beginning of August (Vol. IV., p. 73). STOW, 339, quoting an anonymous English translation of Titus Livius Foro Juliensis (PITS, 824); though I cannot find the passage in the original, see Vol. III., p. 310, note 6. Cf. HOLINS., II., 539; GOUGH, I., CLXV.; PROMPT. PARV., 363; LUDERS, 148. ² OTT., 271; CHRON. LOND., 94. ³ Cf. With a threde basting my sleeves.—CHAUC. (S.), I., 97. ⁴ This is supposed by some to have been a reminiscence of his stay at the Queen Hall at Oxford (Vol. III., p. 328).—STRICKLAND, I., 502, who has enlarged considerably on her original.—Cf. A. CLARK, 125. The story is rejected by S. TURNER (II., 388) "because there seems no reason for the Prince's uncouth dress," which TYLER (I., 306) calls "a mountebank's disguise." LINGARD (III., 455) thinks it "displayed the usual eccentricity of his character." Yet cf.—

Wrought was his robe in straunge gyse,

And al-to-slittered for quayntyse (= *décopée par cointise*).

—CHAUC. (S.), I., 128.

⁵ *I.e.*, in the centre of the floor under the *louvre*.—Cf. MART. COLL., VII., p. LIII.; ANEC., II., 1457, at Châlis near Senlis. For chimneys just coming into use, cf. *pro facturâ parietis caminorum* (23s. 6d.), 1354; *pro unâ tabulâ pro fumerali coquinæ* (5d.), et *pro spiks* (? spikes) *pro fumerali*

The King was brought in on a litter; and there in the presence of three or four lords the Prince kneeled, and vouched his loyalty by drawing his dagger, and calling on his father, if he doubted him, to kill him on the spot. In answer to the charge of misappropriating public money, he produced two rolls of paper,¹ vouching that the whole of the funds had been paid away in wages to the garrison at Calais. Henry was too weak to hold his ground against the appeals of his favourite son. He listened to his complaint and seemed touched by it; but urged that he must wait for the next meeting of Parliament, when his enemies might be legally punished by the judgment of their peers.

On Sep. 23rd,² the Prince came before the Council at Westminster with a formidable following of his friends, demanding that his detractors should be dismissed or forced to prove their words. But the Parliament at which he was to clear his character never really met; and when he next appears, it is as King of England and a regenerate man.

For though he had his serious and superstitious moods,³ in which he would hear nothing that sounded to vice,⁴ yet there is evidence enough that the traditional stories of the wildness of his youth are not without some basis of fact; and that there were times when he was a truant

(2d.), 1401.—BOASE, EXON., II.; VAUGHAN, MONOGRAPH, 140. Cf. lapides in caminis lapideis in Driby (Lincs), Mar. 28th, 1343.—ATHENÆUM, 28/11/91, p. 727. For a chamber with a chimney, see P. PLO., x., 98; JUSSERAND, 126. For chimneys in Owen Glendower's house at Sycarth, see APPELEYARD, III., 82, from JONES, BARDIC MUSEUM, II., 57. For cheminée a plour, cheminée qui desclique, see DESCHAMPS, VI., 131, 132. “And stoden by the chemenee.”—GOWER, CONF., 390. For halls and cottages without chimneys, see DENTON, 44, 46, 198; HOLT, 61.

¹ ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 34. ² CHRON. LOND., 95. ³ GARDINER (298) thinks that he was “unfeignedly religious.” For the Irish estimate of him as the worst man that the world had seen since the days of Herod, see BELLESHEIM, I., 545; BAGWELL, I., 89. ⁴ HOCCL., DE REG., 70.

to chivalry,¹ losing his princely privilege in barren pleasures and rude society. Debts he most certainly had, which it took him many years to clear away;² and though the legends of his cut-pursing,³ and rifling⁴ chapmen's males, and other such thievish living on the common road, are late literary embellishments, yet his panegyrist Elmham,⁵ who spoke from personal knowledge, admits that when not engaged with Mars, he found time for the service of Venus,⁶ and for other madcap pranks that go with the hot heyday of youth. For this he offers no apology. It is but the cloud to foil the sun, the nettle to the lily, the thorn to the rose. Moreover, other contemporaries, even when they dedicate⁷ their books to him, attest that after his coronation he had become an altered man⁸ in temperance, honour, and sobriety. The rollicker who could swear, drink, dance, and revel the night, became the ultra-prudent captain who would have the vines cut down in France, and stop all drink in England;⁹ in fact the Devil¹⁰ turned saint, built monasteries, strid Lollards,¹¹

¹ HY. IV., PT. I., III., 2, 14, 86; v., 1, 94. ² DEVON, 329; ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 315. ³ GOWER, CONF., 295; P. PLO., VIII., 283; PROMPT. PARV., III. Cf. "pyke-porses."—P. PLO., VII., 370. "Purs-kitteris," "purse-kerveris."—WYCL. (A.), III., 320, 321. ⁴ P. PLO., VII., 236; XIV., 56. ⁵ In 1407 he was Treasurer of the Monastery of St. Augustine at Canterbury.—ELMHAM, MON. AUG., XXII., 72. And in 1414 he was Prior of the Cluniac Convent at Lenton in Nottinghamshire.—DUCKETT, II., 21, 198. ⁶ ELMHAM, VITA, 12. ⁷ WALS., HYPODIG., 438. TYLER (I., 317) suspects this passage to be an interpolation, but gives no reasons. ⁸ OTT., 273; WALS., II., 290; HARD., 372; cf. TURNER, II., 382. LUDERS (p. 20) considers these accounts to be "manifestly fabulous." He discredits ELMHAM because of his bombastic style; WALSINGHAM, because he is supposed to build on ELMHAM, "the only writer who can require our belief" (p. 124); and OTTERBOURNE and HARDYNG, because they are "not distinguished enough to merit a separate consideration" (pp. 25, 32). ⁹ ÆN. SYLV., in TRANSCR. FOR. REC., 158, IV., 89, from VAT. MS., 3887; LINGARD, III., 259. ¹⁰ SCOTICHRON., II., 428. ¹¹ *I.e.*, destroyed, as POL. SONGS, I., 38. Not "scried," as GESTA HY. V., 214. Cf. "striers of clergy."—WYCL. (M.), 128, 467.

posed as the Church's champion,¹ and was dubbed the "Prince of Priests."²

Not one, indeed, of Henry IV.'s sons could then be called a sober-blooded boy;³ and many a rear-supper⁴ at Lewis John's,⁵ the Welshman in the Vintry, would be followed by a fray in Eastcheap⁶ or Bridge St., till the Mayor and Sheriffs stepped in to cease the hurling,⁷ and old Henry Scogan,⁸ the Norfolk squire, now "hoar and round of shape,"⁹ had to read the young lordlings a moral lecture on the folly of a "mis-spent juvenute."¹⁰ Traditions long survived in the neighbourhood of Kenilworth, of Prince Hal having been arrested by the Mayor of Coventry¹¹ in the Priory at Cheylesmore; and the

¹ ANGLIA, v., 20; HOCCL., MIN. PO., 41, 48; TYLER, II., 323. ² Vol. III., p. 334. ³ HY. IV., PT. 2, IV., 7. For medical directions to Humphrey as to the care of his health, written in 1424, by Gilbert Kymer, see HEARNE, LIB. NIG. SCAC., 538. ⁴ Vol. II. p. 23; GOWER, CONF., 324; HOLT, 110; *ibid.*, LANGLEY, 113, 146. Cf. "eresupper."—HALLIWELL, 678. ⁵ ROT. PARL., IV., 37, 44; RYM., IX., 130; CHAUC. (S.), I., 84. In the London subsidy roll of 1412, he is assessed at £20 6s. 8d., as Ludowicus John.—ARCHÆOL. JOURN., XLIV., 60. ⁶ CHRON. LOND., 93; STOW, CHRON., 338; LOND., 256; TYLER, I., 261; LOND. AND MIDLX. ARCHÆOL. SOC., III., 454; CHAUCER (S.), I., 82. ⁷ GREG. CHRON., 106; PROMPT. PARV., 253; HALLIWELL, I., 470. I can find no warrant for GUTHRIE'S statement (II., 431) that the King thanked the Mayor for his interference. ⁸ Henry Scogan of Haviles in Raynham near Fakenham, died in 1407.—INQ. P. MORT., III., 315, 331; BLOMFIELD, III., 824; CHAUCER (S.), I., XLVI.-LVII., 82; A. W. WARD, III; POLLARD, CHAUC., 18, 130. PRIV. SEAL, 647/6450 (Feb. 16th, 1410), shows that Robert Scogan, his son and heir, had come of age. Cf. "I see him break Skogan's head at the court-gate when a' was a crack not thus high."—HY. IV., PT. 2, III., 2, 28. ⁹ CHAUC. (S.), I., 397; BELL, VIII., 146. ¹⁰ CHAUC., SPEGHT, 334; URRY, 546; TYRWHITT, II., 531; BELL, VIII., 127. Cf. "Juventee."—P. PLO.; HALLIWELL, II., 488. ¹¹ For this entry, see HEARNE, FORDUN, v., 1444; CARTE, II., 674; STRICKLAND, I., 500; LUDERS (108), who thinks that Carte added Cheylesmore from his local knowledge. TYLER (I., 321) treats the story as "apocryphal." SOLLY-FLOOD (52) considers it a "Tudor fable." PRIV. SEAL, 652/6931, June 26th, 1411, shows Wm. Wead of Coventry indicted for feloniously cutting and melting down lead (value=3s. 4d.), belonging to the Prince, in the Manor of Cheylesmore, on Feb. 8th, 1411.

story of his smiting the judge is too venerable a property to be set aside without some word of comment.

In 1531,¹ when both Prince and judge had been more than a century in their graves, Sir Thomas Elyot, the friend of Wolsey, More, and Cromwell, published a learned educational book, called *The Governour*, full of anecdotes illustrative of the virtues which should be models for all who are called upon to be governors of the public weal. He dedicated this, "the first fruits of his study," to King Henry VIII., and he gathered his matter not only from the "sayings of most noble authors," but from his own experience, "being continually trained in some daily affairs of the public weal from childhood." A lawyer himself, he was the son of a noted lawyer, Sir Richard Elyot,² who had been made a serjeant-at-law in 1503 and a Judge of Common Pleas in 1517.

Thomas Elyot was a diligent inquirer and an accurate observer, and had exceptional means of forming a sound judgment on topics deemed suitable for the purpose of his book, which had a rapid and wonderful sale, being carried about and committed to memory by hundreds of English men and women in the 16th century. In his chapter *On Placability*,³ he introduced the following "domestical example," as one "to be compared with any that ever was written of in any region or country."

He told how King Henry V., during the life of his father, was "noted to be fierce and of wanton courage;" and that one of his servants had committed a felony, and was arraigned at the King's Bench. The Prince "being advertised and incensed

¹ Not 1532, as SOLLY-FLOOD, 54; nor 1534, as LORD CAMPBELL, CHIEF JUSTICES, I., 126; LUDERS, 78. ² Not Edward, as DUGD., ORIG. JUDIC., 113. ³ ELYOT, BK. II., 61-72.

by light persons about him, in furious rage came hastily to the bar where his servant stood as a prisoner, and commanded him to be ungyved and set at liberty.” All present were “abashed,” except the Chief Justice, “who humbly exhorted the Prince to be contented that his servant might be ordered according to the ancient laws of this realm, or, if he would have him saved from the rigour of the laws, that he should obtain, if he might, of the King his father, his gracious pardon, whereby no law or justice should be derogate.” Whereupon the Prince, being more “inflamed” at the reply, “endeavoured himself to take away his servant.” But the judge, “with a valiant spirit and courage, commanded the Prince, upon his allegiance, to leave the prisoner and depart his way.” The Prince “being set all in a fury, all chafed, and in a terrible manner came up to the place of judgment, men thinking that he would have slain the judge, or have done to him some damage.” Then the judge “sitting still without moving, and with an assured and bold countenance had to the Prince these words following: ‘Sir, remember yourself! I keep here the place of the King, your sovereign lord and father, to whom ye owe double obedience. Wherefore, eftsoons, in his name I charge you to desist of your wilfulness and unlawful enterprise, and from henceforth give good example to those which, hereafter, shall be your proper subjects. And now for your contempt¹ and disobedience, go you to the prison of the King’s Bench, whereunto I commit you, and remain there prisoner, until the pleasure of the King, your father, be further known.’ With which words being abashed, and also wondering of the marvellous gravity of that worshipful Justice, the noble Prince, laying

¹ Punishable with loss of hand and goods.—HAWKINS, PLEAS OF CROWN, I., XXI., 3.

his weapon apart, doing reverence, departed, and went to the King's Bench, as he was commanded."

Some of the servants then reported "all the whole affair" to the King, who took the news quietly, "awhile studying"—but soon started up "as a man all ravished with gladness, holding his eyes and hands up toward Heaven," and said aloud: "O merciful God, how much am I, above all other men, bound to Your infinite goodness, specially for that Ye have given me a judge who feareth not to minister justice, and also a son who can suffer semblably and obey justice!"

Such is one form of the story as it had trickled down through four generations of tradition or gossip; and we have to ask ourselves:—Is it in itself so opposed to known historic facts, or intrinsically so improbable, as to demand rejection from a period little lit by human and personal touches, and ill able to spare so stirring and effective an episode from its canvas?

It is evident, however, that the legend was current in various shapes; and a few years after the publication of Elyot's book, it appeared in an independent dress in a History¹ written by Edward Halle, who was also a lawyer and a frequenter of the Courts in London. In this form, the Prince, in the interest of one of his unthrifty playfares,² "strake the Chief Justice with his fist on the face," was thereupon committed to strait prison, put out of the Privy Council, and banished from the Court. Halle's version was copied into *Holinshead's Chronicle* in 1577; and, henceforward, the "sound box o' the ear"³ became current coin on the London stage, and an

¹ The earliest edition was published in 1542. ² HALLE, HENRY V., fol. 1; REDMAN, 11; cf. PROMPT. PARV., 404; HALLIWELL, 630; JAMIESON, III., 507. ³ See the anecdote of Dick Tarleton, the low comedian, who died in 1588, in TARLETON JESTS, quoted in HALLIWELL'S note to Hy. IV., Part 2, 1, 2, 51; see also *ibid.*, v., 2; SOLLY-FLOOD, 127. For a picture of the scene, see LUDERS, 80.

article of every Englishman's historical creed ;¹ though even in Shakespeare the actual name of the heroic judge is nowhere to be found.

In the absence of express evidence, two claimants have been put forward for the honour. The judge whose name was first specified in connection with the story, was Sir William Hankeford² of Annery,³ a native of Bulkworthy, in North Devon ; but as he was not made Chief Justice of the King's Bench⁴ till after the accession of Henry V.,⁵ his claim must be set aside. Another Devonshire man, John Hody,⁶ has been named, but he was not appointed Chief Justice till 1440. A claim has been put in for Sir John Markham, on the strength of "a MS. belonging to the Markhams, an ancient family in Nottinghamshire ;"⁷ but this probably refers to a Chief Justice in the reign of Edward IV., whose reputation for uprightness on the bench still survived in the middle of the 16th century.⁸ If the claim refers to his father, John Markham,⁹ who was a Judge of Common Pleas in the reign of Henry IV., it is disposed of by the fact that he was never a Chief Justice at all.

It is now, therefore, generally believed that if the scene ever really occurred, the chief actor must have been Sir William Gascoigne, who held the post of Chief Justice of the King's

¹ COKE, III., 225 ; FULLER, II., 505. ² RISDEN, p. 81, written between 1605 and 1630 ; PRINCE, 362 ; TYLER, I., 369. He was Chief Justice of the King's Bench in Ireland.—DAVIES, 135. For his church patronage, see STAFF. REG., 122. For his epitaph at Monkleigh, see POLWHELE, II., 38. ³ Not Amerie, as LORD CAMPBELL, CHIEF JUSTICES, I., 139. ⁴ *I.e.*, March 29th, 1413, as successor to Gascoigne.—FOSS, IV., 324. He died Dec. 20th, 1422. His will, dated at Monkleigh, was proved at Lambeth in 1423.—GENEAL., v., 28. ⁵ Not Henry IV., as DAVIES, 136. ⁶ POLWHELE, II., 36 ; WORTH, 158. ⁷ CAMPBELL, CH. JUST., I., 141-144. ⁸ He was quoted as a model judge by Throckmorton in 1554.—STATE TRIALS, I., 58. ⁹ He retired before May 9th, 1409.—RYM., VIII., 584 ; and died Dec. 31st, 1409, at Markham near Retford.—THOROTON, 384.

Bench, from Nov. 15th, 1400,¹ till the close of Henry IV's reign; and this is corroborated by the fact that one of his successors² on the Queen's Bench in the reign of Elizabeth appears to have named him in commenting on the story. We do not know his exact words, but their substance is reported by Richard Crompton,³ an apprentice at the Middle Temple, who published a law book in 1594, at which time it is certain that the story was seriously accepted, and quoted substantially in the form recorded by Elyot.

No trace has been found of any formal committal of the Prince to prison, though the records⁴ have been twice searched independently, with a view to setting the question at rest; so that, if the legend has any basis in fact, the imprisonment must have been so short and nominal that the punishment amounted to nothing at all. But if this difficulty be removed, the rest of the story may perhaps stand, as in no way involving any serious improbability. For it should be borne in mind that, from the modern standpoint, we are liable to exaggerate the enormity of the offence from an over-estimate of the dignity and independence of the judges of those days. Richard II. had knocked a judge down, and kicked him on the ground;⁵ and both Gascoigne and almost every other judge appointed in the reign of Henry IV. had been previously retained as a salaried member of his Council when Earl of Derby,⁶ and would be no terror to the riotous young cracks, who had known them in their humbler character as family dependents at Kenilworth or Tutbury. Neither did the judges' own conduct

¹ Vol. II., p. 186. ² *I.e.*, Judge Whiddon, died 1575.—Foss, 720.
³ CROMPTON, 79. ⁴ *Viz.*, the Consignment and Coram Rege Rolls.—ELYOT, II., 61, 643; SOLLY-FLOOD, 146. ⁵ *Lui ferist et defoula desouz ses pees.*—ROT. PARL., v., 393; see Vol. II., p. 235. ⁶ Vol. II., p. 182.

always tend to foster that awe and reverence which hedges them about in the popular mind to-day; for we know that while the Prince was a member of the Council, one of them laid an ambush to thwart a love-day to which he himself was a party, and was heavily fined for it, without losing his place on the bench.¹

Most modern writers who have accepted the story,² have placed the incident in the winter of 1411, and assumed that it was for this that the Prince was put out of the Council and excluded from the Court;³ but I am of opinion that if it is to hold its ground, it must be dated earlier in the reign; for I cannot think that the immediate heir of England who had been for two years at the head of the Government, could have boxed the ears of the Chief Justice, without leaving some mark also on the chronicles of the time.⁴

¹ Vol. II., p. 189. ² Among these are: FOSS, IV., 128, 166; STRICKLAND, I., 500; LORD CAMPBELL, CH. JUST., I., 125-134; LINGARD, III., 454; PAULI, V., 71; RAMSAY, I., 127. The story is rejected by LUDERS, 75-96; TYLER, I., 358-384; HALLAM, III., 143; MACKINTOSH, I., 344; STUBBS, III., 77; and CROFT, who thinks that it may be due to the "inaccuracy of some monkish chronicler whose name is unknown, and whose writings yet remain to be decyphered" (? discovered), see ELYOT, II., 60-71. SOLLY-FLOOD (55) thinks that Elyot invented it, never intending it to be anything but a romance to please Henry VIII., and that it grew out of an actual incident in the life of Edward II. when Prince of Wales (*ibid.*, 151). CHURCH (pp. 27-29) thinks the whole story is "fiction," but he follows SOLLY-FLOOD too blindly, even when he calls Hardyng Thomas (instead of John), and attributes to him the *Versus Rythmici*. BURROWS (COMMENTARIES, 209) thinks that "the legend may not be unfounded;" J. C. ROBERTSON (VII., 299), that "we have received an impression too strong to be effaced by any historical evidence." ³ HALLE, HENRY V., fol. I. ⁴ This is the weightiest argument in TYLER, I., 358-384, though he under-estimates the strength of ELMHAM'S general testimony. LORD CAMPBELL (CH. JUST., I., 126) thought that no writer before Elyot "could reasonably have been expected to relate" the story of the imprisonment.

CHAPTER XCV.

THE KING'S DEATH.

THE King was now at the lag-end¹ of his life. Forced by his growing weakness to forego the command in France, he withdrew in July, 1412, with Archbishop Arundel to Croydon.² The month of August he spent either in London or at his manor at Fulham. On Sep. 12th he was at the Tower,³ and before Sep. 15th he had moved again to Canterbury.⁴ Accompanied by his confessor, a Dominican, Doctor John Tille,⁵ he

¹ HENRY IV., Pt. I., v., 1, 24. ² For documents dated at Croydon, July 17th and 20th, 1412, see CLAUS., 13 H. IV., 17 d. ³ RYM., VIII., 769. For documents dated at Fulham, July 30th, Aug. 1st, 18th, 1412, see DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 28'; also JOHN OF GAUNT'S REGISTER (*ibid.*, XI., 14), *passim*. For documents dated London, Aug. 1st, 3rd, 6th, 12th, 26th, and the Tower, Sep. 12th, 1412, see *ibid.*, XI., 16, 36', 71', 75'. ⁴ For documents dated there Sep. 15th, 19th, 1412, see PAT., 13 H. IV., 2, 2, 7. ⁵ CAPGR., 302. For grant to him of 40 mks. p.a., see ISS. ROLL, 14 H. IV., MICH. (Dec. 10th, 1412); PAT., 14 H. IV., 19, and PRIV. SEAL, 657/7432 (Jan. 4th, 1413). When travelling abroad as Earl of Derby in 1390 and 1392, his chaplain and confessor was Hugh Herle or Herlee.—DERBY ACCTS., XCII., 298, 320; PRUTZ, 122. At the beginning of his reign, his confessor was Robert Mascal, a Carmelite of Ludlow (RYM., VIII., 175), who had four horses and a hackney and an annual allowance of £69 10s. 6d. (*ibid.*, VIII., 231; Vol. I., p. 465). On the death of Bishop Balscot (or Petit, who was Chancellor of Ireland in 1390.—CAL. ROT. PAT., 218) on Nov. 10th, 1400 (WARE, PRELATES, 24; not 1399, as Vol. I., p. 223), Mascal received a grant of the temporalities of the See of Meath, with permission to reside in England and manage the Irish revenues by deputy (RYM., VIII., 175). On July 2nd, 1404, he was made Bishop of Hereford, and was told to mind his bishopric (GODWIN, II., 70; GASCOIGNE, 186). He was captured by Flemish pirates in the same year (Vol. I., p. 465; COMPTE RENDU, 3rd SER., III., 178; VARENBERGH, 491; BRANDO, 90; J. MEYER, 219, where he is wrongly called an Abbot),

spent the autumn and winter months in various places near London, but always in touch with the Archbishop. Thus from Oct. 11th to Nov. 6th, we find him at Merton Priory; ¹ he was at Croydon ² from Nov. 6th to Dec. 23rd, and his last Christmas was spent with the usual festivities at Eltham. ³ At the end of January, 1413, he removed to the Archbishop's hostel at Lambeth, ⁴ and thence to his manor at Mortlake.

These hospitable attentions were not left to be their own reward. Archbishop Arundel had already secured the royal castle of Queenborough, ⁵ and on Dec. 7th, 1412, ⁶

and died Dec. 22nd, 1416. For his will dated 1416, proved at Lambeth, see GENERAL., VI., 129. For his writings, see BALE, 539; FITS, 597; A. WOOD, I., 103; MONAST., VI., 1578. In 1403 the King's Chaplain was Nicholas Bubwith, afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells (Vol. III., p. 128); and in the same year his confessor appears as Friar Robert Kendal (Q. R. WARDROBE, ²/₄, APP. B.). In 1404 his confessor was Philip Repingdon, who was made Bishop of Lincoln in 1405 (Vol. III., p. 348, note 5). Cf. A frere or a prest hath as leve to be surely a confessor of a lord or of a lady, as to be a simple bischop.—WVCL. (M.), 333. A frere that is confessor to a kyng or to a duke, is ympe or peer to a bishop.—*Ibid.*, 334. In 1409-1411, the King's confessor was Roger Coringham (Q. R. WARDROBE, ⁴/₈, APP. B.; L. T. R. ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCTS., 12, 4, APP. C.). He was Archdeacon of York in 1405 (LE NEVE, III., 133, where he is wrongly called Richard) and received a prebend at Lincoln on Sep. 11th, 1411, but died six months after (*ibid.*, II., 185). For his will dated London, Feb. 18th, 1412, and proved at Lincoln, April 19th, 1412, see GIBBONS, LINC., 115.

¹ ISS. ROLL, 14 H. IV., MICH. (Oct. 11th, Dec. 1st, 1412). For documents dated at Merton, Oct. 15th, 18th, 19th, 22nd, 24th, 27th, 28th, and Nov. 4th, 6th, 1412, see DUC. LANC., XI., 16, 37', 75', 81'. He had been at Merton in 1407, see L. T. R. ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCTS., 12, 1 d, APP. C. ² ISS. ROLL, 14 H. IV., MICH. (Nov. 3rd, Dec. 1st, 9th, 1412), also Nov. 10th, 13th, 30th, 1412; DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 7 (b), APP. A. For documents dated Croydon, Nov. 6th, 8th, 9th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 17th, Dec. 1st, 12th, 16th, 19th, 23rd, 1412, see *ibid.*, XI., 16, 37', 76', 79', 83'. ³ ISS. ROLL, 14 H. IV., MICH. (Dec. 10th, 1412), has £333 6s. 8d. for expenses erga festum Natal' prox.—Cf. OTT., 272; WALS., II., 289. For documents dated Eltham, Dec. 20th, 1412, Jan. 1st, 4th, 5th, 12th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 18th, 22nd, 23rd, 24th, 30th, 31st, 1413, see DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 29'; PRIV. SEAL, 657/7433. ⁴ ISS. ROLL, 14 H. IV., MICH. (Jan. 25th, 1413); DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 81' (Feb. 8th, 1413). ⁵ Vol. III., p. 244, note 3. ⁶ HASTED, II., 474; RYM., IX., 62; C. W. MARTIN, 125.

he received from the Queen a grant of Leeds¹ Castle for life.

The King could now no longer sit a horse,² and only walked with difficulty. His plough had turned its last furrow ;³ his face was marred and frightful to look on ;⁴ his body was wasted to nerve and bone ;⁵ and he often prayed that he might die. Though now no longer "personable,"⁶ nor "apt to come in conversation of his people,"⁷ yet he kept up his interest in affairs till the last. On Nov. 23rd, 1412,⁸ there is an entry in the Exchequer Rolls, showing that he had sent a verbal message to the Treasury, arranging the price of a suit of clothes for his minstrel, William Bingley ; and a note on Jan. 25th, 1413,⁹ records that a mounted messenger posted down to him at Mortlake, with particulars of the arrest of a seaman named John Milner at Greenwich. Nothing is known of Milner ; and this glimpse of the King transacting business at night in the Archbishop's manor-house is one of the last that we get of him in his painful illness.

On Dec. 1st, 1412,¹⁰ summons had been sent out calling a Parliament to meet at Westminster on Feb. 3rd, 1413, and the Convocations were to assemble in London and York in the same week.¹¹ The knights and burgesses were selected, and appeared duly at Westminster at their own charges, day by

¹ It had passed to Queen Joan by order of the Coventry Parliament in 1404 (Vol. II., p. 284). For order for repair of Leeds Castle, dated Feb. 8th, 1413, see PAT., 14 H. IV., 8 d. For a good account of the castle, see C. W. MARTIN, *passim*. ² OTT., 70. ³ ANN., 365.

⁴ ELMHAM, in POL. SONGS, II., 121 (cf. Vol. II., p. 249).

Of which ryght nowe ye porest of this lande

Wolde lothe to looke upon, I understande.—HARD., 370.

⁵ CAPGR., DE ILLUSTR., III. ⁶ HALLE, CI. ⁷ FAB., 415. ⁸ DEVON, 318.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 319. ¹⁰ REPT. DIGN. PEER., III., 813 ; OTT., 272. For payment to messengers, see ISS. ROLL, 14 H. IV., MICH. (Dec. 9th, 1412). ¹¹ Citra Oct. Purif. B.V.M.—CLAUS., 14 H. IV., 16 d, Jan. 19th, 1413 ; REPT. DIGN. PEER., III., 815 ; CONC., III., 351 ; WAKE, 349.

day;¹ but though the year² for which the last subsidy had been granted had almost expired, the Parliament was never formally opened, and no business was actually done.

The King was back at Greenwich on Feb. 5th,³ and we know that he had removed to Westminster by Feb. 21st.⁴ About Mid-Lent he was in the Abbey making an offering⁵ at the shrine of the Confessor, behind the high altar, when he was seized with dizziness and fell in a swoon⁶ in the church. They carried him through the cloisters⁷ to the newly erected Abbot's Palace, where they laid him on a straw pallet⁸ near the fire in the room known as the Bethlehem or Jerusalem.⁹ Following the established custom¹⁰ at a King's approaching death, they placed the crown on a cushion of gold cloth by his side, and Friar Tille was at hand ready for his expected end.

¹ ROT. PARL., IV., 9. ² The latest entry in PRIV. SEAL, 657 (14 H. IV.), is Feb. 28th, 1413, No. 7485. The last entry in ISS. ROLL, 14 H. IV., MICH., is March 20th, 1413, and the total expenditure for the term is £38,190 4s. 3½d. (given as £44,509 4s. 3½d. in ANTIQUARY, VI., 104). The Receipts are not totalled. Whittington lent £1000 on March 2nd, 1413, which was repaid on March 17th. ³ DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 7 (b), APP. A. ⁴ ISS. ROLL, 14 H. IV., MICH., Feb. 22nd, 1413. ⁵ CAXTON, 223; FAB., 388. ⁶ Cf. SWOUGH.-CHAUCER, CLERK, 8976; SQUIRE, 10790; HALLIWELL, II., 843; “SWOW.-” CHAUC. (S.), I., 284. ⁷ The present door communicating with the church was not then built, and the western portion of the nave had been left unfinished for nearly a century (MONAST., I., 313; RYM., IX., 78), though large sums were being spent on its completion; and in 1412 the Fabric Roll shows £154 9s. due for the “new work.”—G. G. SCOTT, APP., p. 27. For plan of the Palace and Abbey, see H. HALL, EXCHEQ., 31. ⁸ CAXTON, 223. ⁹ EUL., III., 421; CHRON. R. II.-H. VI., p. 38; CROYL., 499. It was built by Nicholas Litlington, who was Abbot from 1362 to 1386 (MONAST., I., 275; G. G. SCOTT, 42, 82), and probably took its name from the decorations on the walls.—ARCHÆOL., XXVI., 433; STANLEY, 374, 440. It is called “Bethlem,” by ELMHAM, in POL. SONGS, II., 122. For Litlington's initials on the bosses on the south and west sides of the cloisters which he built, see G. G. SCOTT, 73, 74. ¹⁰ Comme il est acoustumé de faire ou pays.—MONSTR., II., 338. KNIGHT (II., 23) calls it “an English custom which never existed.” ANDREWS (II., 142) supposes that he always kept the crown by his side, day and night, during the latter part of his reign.

For a long while¹ he lay helpless, and then, at length, his body grew cold, and he seemed to have ceased to breathe. They covered his face with a silken towel, and called in the Prince, who lifted the crown and took it away; for the Earl of March had a following yet,² and possession was something in face of a possible civil war. Presently, however, the dying King uttered a sigh; and when they took off the face-cloth he opened his eyes and asked that the crown might be returned. The Prince came to his side, and told him that, as the eldest son, he had been advised to take it up. "What right have you to it, my son," said he, "seeing that I had none?"³ "Sire," said the Prince, "as you have held and kept it by the sword, so will I hold and keep it while my life shall last." "Do as you will," said the King, "I commend me to God, and pray that He may have mercy upon me."

Seeing his confessor in the room, he asked what he was doing,⁴ and being told that he was ready with the viaticum, he raised himself for his last housel, as far as his strength would allow. The Friar pressed him to repent, before it was too late, for his share in the deaths of King Richard and Archbishop Scrope, and for his usurpation of the crown.⁵ He answered that he had already written the very truth of his conscience to the Pope,⁶ had done his penance and received his absolution, and that it was hard to fix a remedy for his seizure of the crown, for his children would never now suffer it to leave his line. Then stretching out his lame hands, he

¹ WAURIN (III., 158) places his seizure on March 16th, but they would scarcely have left him for four days, without removing him to the palace. ² ST. DENYS, IV., 772. ³ Such was the story current among the French soon after.—MONSTR., II., 338; followed by HALLE, 32; GRAFTON, 442. SOLLY-FLOOD (100) treats this account as "comparatively a modern fiction." ⁴ ELMHAM, 13. ⁵ CAPGR., 302. ⁶ *I.e.*, Gregory XII. (Vol. II., p. 350); not John XXIII., as HÖFLER, ANNA, 143.

called his son that he might kiss him, and give him the latest counsel that ever he should breathe. He urged him to pay his debts, reward his friends, and choose wise confessors (if possible, from the religious orders), not to assent to those who would sew pillows to all armholes, but to scorn ease and swerve not from duty to the right hand or to the left.¹ And so he made a happy end,² asking God's blessing on his four sons, on St. Cuthbert's Day, March 20th, 1413.³

Fifty years afterwards it was believed that at the time of his death, he was preparing a large fleet of galleys, in order to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem.⁴ But there is no evidence that such a journey was ever seriously proposed, and even had it been, the start would have been made from Venice and not from London. It is certain, however, that a desire to drive the heathen from the Holy Land had long been in his thoughts, and his son likewise cherished the same wish to his dying day.⁵

Many pious and patriotic minds were dreaming of a great

¹ ELMHAM, in POL. SONGS, II., 120; CAPGR., DE ILLUSTR., 110. S. TURNER (II., 388) is wrong in supposing that this advice has not the sanction of any contemporary authority; see also TYLER, I., 307. ² Finem vitæ habuit felicem.—CAPGR., DE ILLUSTR., 110. ³ ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 134; POL. SONGS, II., 122; EUL., III., 421; OTT., 272; WALS., II., 289; HYPODIG., 437; BERMONDSEY, 484; CAPGR., DE ILLUSTR., 110. Not Sunday, March 19th, as HARD., 371; LINGARD, III., 457; nor Monday, March 21st, as CHRON. LOND., 95; nor March 22nd, as COSNEAU, 27. The date (Mar. 20th) is definitely fixed in DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 8, though Mar. 23rd is given in L. T. R. ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCTS., 13, 5, APP. C. ⁴ LEL. COLL., I., 487; CHRON., R. II.-HY. VI., p. 37; CAXTON, 223. CROYL. (499) says that he was going to fulfil the prophecy. FABYAN (388) says that the proposal was discussed at a Great Council, held at the White-Friars, on Nov. 20th, 1412. But, though seemingly exact, he is often quite wrong in his details about these years, e.g., he gives the date of Rhys Dhu's death as Dec. 9th, 1410, instead of March 19th, 1411 (Vol. III., p. 267). His account is still further elaborated by HALLE (32) and GRAFTON (441), who are followed by HOLINS., II., 540; SOUTHEY, II., 51; NICOLAS NAVY, II., 401 (doubtfully); STANLEY, WESTMINSTER, 374; STUBBS, III., 70; DICT. NAT. BIOG., XXVI., 41; WALL, 295. ⁵ LEL. COLL., I., 489; CHURCH, 147.

crusade to the East, as the sole remedy for the scandalous divisions that were devastating Christian Europe.¹ In the English gilds² prayers were put up at every meeting that God, for His might and His mercy, would bring the Holy Land out of heathen power into the rule of His Church; and in the parish churches in the north official curses were invoked in the liturgy against all that counselled or helped the Saracens.³ But the growth of trade and intercourse was beginning, at length, to waken a glimmer of protest⁴ on the part of Christian writers

¹ Cf. Lete your (*i.e.*, Henry IV. and Charles VI.) pitee now awake,
That hath slept, and pees bitwene you make,
And on the foes of Crist your redemptour
Werrethe. There kithethe your vigour
Upon the miscreantes to make werre,
And hem to the feithe of Crist to bryng.
Goode werre thereinne may be no thyng erre,
That were a meritorie werreyng.
This is the way to the conqueryng
Of heven blisse that is endeles;
To which you bryng the actour of pees!—HOCCL., DE REG., 195.
The Sarazins whiche unto God be lothe,
Let men ben armed azein hem to fight.
—POL. SONGS, II., II; CHAUCER, URRY, 541.
Freres, sommes un peuple et une loy,
Que Jhesu Crist veult par son sang acquerre.
Soyons d'acort, mettons nous en arroy
Pour conquerir de cuer la Saincte Terre.—DESCHAMPS, I., 138.
Ne guerriez l'un l'autre desormais,
Sur Sarrazins soit vo guerre remise.

—DESCHAMPS, III., 172; v., 180; VII., 306.
For a proposal to unite the Venetians and Genoese against the infidels,
see BOUCICAUT, 269. ² T. SMITH, 22, III. ³ See the Great Cursing, in
YORK MANUAL, 121.

⁴ Fro first that Holy Chirche hath weived
To preche, and hath the swerd received,
Wherof the werrés ben begonne,
A great partie of that was wonne
To Criste's feith stant now miswent.

—GOWER, CONF., 172.

And for to sleen the hethen alle,
I not what good there mighte falle,
So mochel blood though ther be shad.
This finde I writen, how Crist bad

against these cruel wars of religion¹ and wholesale baptisms of the "men of wrong belief,"² though even the most tolerant insisted that Jerusalem must be recaptured first.

Henry himself had seen the Holy City in the winter of 1392,³ and it is certain that the visit left deep traces on

That no man other shulde slee.
To sleen and fighten they us bidde,
Hem whom they shulde, as the boke saith,
Converten unto Cristes feith.
But herof have I great merveile,
How they wol bidde me traveile.
A Sarazin if I slee shall
I slee the soule forth withall,
And that was never Cristes lore.—GOWER, CONF., 194.

For alle paynymes preyen and parfitliche byleven
In the grete heye God and hus grace asken.

—P. PLO., XVIII., 255.

Juwes lyven in the lawe that oure Lord tauhte.—*Ibid.*, 297.
And one God that all began with good heart they honoureth (*i.e.*, Jews and Saracens),

And either loveth and believeth in one God almighty.—*Ibid.*, 134.

Hit may be that Sarrasyns haven a suche manere charite,

Love as by lawe of kynde oure Lord God Almighty.—*Ibid.*, 151.

Cf. PURVEY (REMONSTRANCE, 64), protesting against the "desire of Holi Chirche to slee and sende to helle so manie thousandis of paynamis." "Certes," says he, "as long as hethen men wolen lyve peesibli with us Cristene, and not werre on us to distrie oure Cristendome, we have noon auctorite of God to werre agens hem for worldli lordshipe othir veyn name and temporal godis." Illi (Saraceni) sunt plures, potenciores et multo graviore quam nos.—WYCL., LAT. SERM., II., 297. For protests against the raids in Lithuania, see PRUTZ, XVII., from HEINRICH DER TEICHNER in HIRSCH, II., 169.

¹ Au monde n'a si fière guerre comme de foy.—BONET, APPARITION, 21; quoted in NYS, REVUE DE DROIT INTERNATIONAL, XIV., 463; cf. P. PLO., XVIII., 123, 150, 184, 318; DESCHAMPS, III., 96. ² WYCL. (M.), 98. ³ PAULI, GESCHICHTE, v., 65; RECHNUNGSBUCH, No. 8, 335, No. 14, 352; DERBY ACCTS., XI., XLVII.-LXXX., 144-202. He left Hecham near Lynn, on July 25th, 1392 (reading Hecham for Hetham in CAPGR., DE ILLUSTR., 99; cf. MONAST., v., 8, 17, 20; BLOMFIELD, v., 1261. For items dated Lynn, July 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 1392, see DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 3, 5 (a)), intending to make a second reise with the Teutonic Knights, but he changed his plan, owing to a dispute as to the right to carry St. George's banner (HIRSCH, III., 182; PRUTZ, XXVII., LXXXIV.; though considered "improbable" in DERBY ACCTS., XLIX.). He then turned south, visited Prague and Vienna, crossed the Noric and Carnic Alps in November, sailed from Venice about Christmas, landed

his mind.¹ He brought back a tame Turk with him, whom he had christened Henry; and two years after his return, he promised help² to old Philippe de Mézières³ in starting his proposed new Order of the Passion. Some of the foremost Englishmen⁴ had given in their names, but Henry was not yet prepared to be himself enrolled. The Order, if it had ever taken actual shape, was meant to train the next generation in a practical knowledge of the languages and habits of the East; to teach Greek, Tartar, Arabic, and Armenian, as

at Jaffa, rode to Jerusalem, and returned by Cyprus and Rhodes (M. A. E. GREEN, III., 308, wrongly thinks that Rhodes was "the most distant point at which he arrived") to Venice before Mar. 31st, 1393 (not Nov. 18th, 1392, as DELAVILLE LE ROULX, I., 176), where the Venetian senate voted 200 ducats for his reception (ORIENT LATIN, II., II., 239; VEN. STATE PP., I., 34; Vol. II., p. 30). He had eight tablets (*tabulæ*) painted with his arms and those of his knights and squires, and hung up in St. Mark's Church, on April 10th, 1393.—DERBY ACCTS., LVII., 234; PRUTZ, XCVII. And the so-called Mowbray Stone is probably a memento of the same visit (Vol. II., p. 29, note, adding HOLT, 139, 140, for the white-hart and the antelope. For "whit hert and a paille," "a bukk lying in paille," "white hertes lying in Coloers, havng crownes abowte ther nekes with cheyns sylver and gylte," see ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 21, 23, 47, 49. There is a hart with collar and chain in one of the Misereres in the church at Canon Pyon, near Hereford, supposed to have been brought from the neighbouring Priory at Wormsley). He had his arms painted in the inns in which he stayed at Prague, Vienna, and Brünn.—DERBY ACCTS., LVII.; PRUTZ, LXXXVII. (cf. the Duke of Burgundy at Amiens in 1408.—TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 25). He left Venice or Treviso on April 28th, 1393; travelled by Milan (Vol. III., p. 385) and Turin; crossed Mont Cenis, May 26th; reached Chambéry, May 29th; arrived in Paris on June 22nd, and was back in London by July 5th, bringing with him an ounce or chetah for hunting (PRUTZ, XCVI.; cf. illustration in G. F. WARNER'S edition of MANDEVILLE.) For parcell pro leopardo from apothecary, 1394, see DUC. LANC. REC., XVIII., 1, 3, APP. A.

¹Though PRUTZ (XCV.) thinks that he hurried it over as quickly as possible, merely to perform a vow. ²ORIENT LATIN, I., 363, where he appears as le Comte de Nornthone (*i.e.*, Northampton), frère (*sic*) du roy d'Engleterre. ³See APP. BB.; TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 2, 21; GESTE, 262, 266. ⁴*E.g.*, Sir Lewis Clifford, Sir Ralph Percy, Sir Henry Fitzhugh, and Bishop Gilbert of St. David's.—ORIENT LATIN, I., 337; ASHMOLE (editn. 1672), p. 83; DELAVILLE LE ROULX, I., 205. For Alexander and David Lindsay, see Vol. II., p. 63.

well as Latin, in its schools;¹ and so prevent that density of ignorance which had wrecked the zeal of earlier crusades,² when the time should really come to drive the infidels out.

When Henry was in Paris in 1399,³ he had half inclined to spend his energies in helping King Sigismund to hold his ground against the Turks. He was the first English King that was anointed with the mystic oil, miraculously given by the Virgin Mother to Becket in his exile,⁴ and was flattered with a prophecy,⁵ that he had been specially marked out by Providence to re-conquer Jerusalem,⁶ and build churches in the Holy Land. A year after his coronation, he gave what help he could to the Greek Emperor⁷ in his struggle against Bajazet; and as late as 1403,⁸ we have evidence that the thought of a crusade was still prominent in his mind.

The dream of an Order of the Passion vanished with the death of Mézières in 1405,⁹ and common action of any kind by an united Christendom was farther off than ever;

¹ ORIENT LATIN, I., 345; DELAVILLE, I., 207. ² CUNNINGHAM, I., 142. ³ FRIOS., XVI., 132. ⁴ For an account of the golden eagle, and the oil brought from Poitiers to England in the time of Edward III. and discovered in the Tower in the reign of Richard II., who carried it about with him, see ST. DENYS, II., 729; EUL., III., 380, 384; ANN., 297; WALS., II., 239; FORTESCUE, I., 71*; ARCHÆOL., XX., 266; FROIS., XVI., 359; ROYAL MS. (BRIT. MUS.) E. IX., ff., 27 b. (94); COTT. CLAUD., E. VIII., f., 1 b., col. 2; VESP. E. VII., f., 112. In 1427 it was kept in a box with the great Crown of England.—KAL. AND INV., II., 116, 123; STANLEY, WESTMINSTER, 70. For a copy of the eagle made at the Restoration and now in the Tower, see KNIGHT, LONDON, II., 229; RAMSAY, I., 5. ⁵ POL. SONGS, II., 122. ⁶ ARCHÆOL., XX., 257; Vol. I., p. 45. ⁷ Vol. I., p. 164. KNIGHT (II., 23) thinks that this visit turned Henry's thoughts to the "then almost forgotten East" (!) ⁸ Vol. I., p. 321. ⁹ He died May 26th, 1405.—ORIENT LATIN, I., 337; or 29th.—BEURRIER, 341, who gives his epitaph from the Church of the Celestins in Paris. By his will made in 1392, he left his books (*multa volumina librorum*, some with his autograph "*Phī de Maseriis*") to the Celestins.—FRANKLIN, II., 91; cf. Vol. III., p. 296, note 2.

but King Henry's death in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster supplied a decent pretext for saving the reputation of the prophecy, such as writers of the 15th century¹ were familiar with in the stories of Robert Guiscard and Pope Gerbert many generations before.²

¹ I find no earlier authority for the detailed story than CAXTON (p. 223; HIGDEN, VIII., 547), who is followed by FABYAN, 388, and RASTELL, 244. ² HIGDEN, VII., 76, from WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, 283; BRUNTON (Edn. TWYSDEN), 882, 1255; cf. PALGRAVE, HIST. OF NORMANDY, IV., 479; STANLEY, WESTMINSTER, 376. For the story of Hotspur at Berwick, near Shrewsbury, see SCOTICHRON., XV.; Vol. I., p. 359.

CHAPTER XCVI.

BURIAL.

THE King's body was washed, brained, bowelled,¹ and embalmed² in a mixture of myrrh, aloes, laurel-flower and saffron,³ and wound⁴ in cerements⁵ of waxed Rheims linen, leaving the face alone exposed. They then clothed it in a long robe⁶ reaching to the heels, with a royal mantle over it. The thick brown beard was smoothed over the throat and chin, the crown was placed upon the head, the hands were

¹ PROMPT. PARV., 46; CATHOL., 38. For viscera, see YORKS. ARCH. AND TOP. JOURN. PT. LXXXV., 386, 388; N. AND Q., 14/11/85.

² Cf. And putte ful the shryne of spycerye,

And leet the cors embaume.—CHAUC. (S.), III., 109.

³ See extract from LIBER REGALIS (Roxburgh Club, 1870) in two vols. presented to Westminster Abbey by Abbot Nicholas Litlington, circ. 1377 (cf. STRUTT, ANTIQ., 33; G. G. SCOTT, 80, APP., p. 33), in FABR. ROLLS, 192; BLOXAM, 59; RAINE, LETTERS, 431; WALL, 5; ROCK, II., 486. Cf. the body of Duke Philip of Burgundy, 1404 (ITIN., 574); Henry V. (ELMHAM, 336; GOUGH, III., 59); Bishop Braybrooke (Vol. III., p. 125, note 13); Bishop Lyndwood (ARCHÆOLOGIA, XXXIV., 403; ARCHÆOL. CAMBR. (1852), p. 157; SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, PROCEEDINGS, II., 207); Sir Thomas Cumberworth (Vol. II., p. 234, note 2). In 1416 the body of the Duke of Berry was embalmed with feves, Alibani, mierre fin, mastix fin, momie, Militilles, bol Arménial, dragons-blood, noix de Cyprès, scented herbs, quicksilver, rosewater, camphor, musk, colofonie, poix-noire and cotton. The cost was £60 17s. 3d.—RAYNAL, II., 505. For the body of the Duke of Ireland brought from Louvain to Colne in Essex, see GILBERT, VICEROYS, 258. ⁴ ARCHÆOL., I., 348; BLOXAM, 60; WALL, 7. Cf. A body dede which was iwounde in cloth of gold.—GOWER, CONF., 421. For "swathing bonds," see WYCL. (A.), II., 99. ⁵ For "sering," see TEST. EBOR., IV., 319; PARÉ, 1131; ANTIQ. REPERT., II., 323; WILLS OF KINGS, 83, 146. ⁶ BLOXAM, 196.

strapped with cerecloth¹ sewed about each thumb and finger,² and dressed in gloves³ richly broidered with orphreys.⁴ The right middle finger wore a gold ring, the right hand held a golden orb⁵ with the cross resting on the breast, while the left hand lay at his side grasping a sceptre of gold which reached to the left ear. The legs were cased in silken galogs⁶ or buskins,⁷ and the feet were shod with sandals.

Dressed in this guise the body lay in state for a time at Westminster. It was then stripped again, lapped in lead,⁸ chested⁹ in a rough elm¹⁰ hutch, packed with haybands to steady it, and

¹ ARCHÆOL. JOURN., XLV., 244. ² BLOXAM, 58, from the body of Edward I. examined at Westminster in 1774.

Cf. The dede body was besewed

In cloth of gold and laid therinne.

—GOWER, CONF., 420.

Unswowede was the body sone.—*Ibid.*, 421.

³ Cf. Vol. I., p. 443, note 7. In the tomb of Richard II. and his queen Anne, two pairs of leather riding-gloves (one small and one large) were found in 1871.—ARCHÆOLOGIA, XLV., 326. In the reign of Edward III., a pair of sheepskin gloves cost 1½d. or 2d.—LIB. ALB., I., XC. At the election of sergeants-at-law in 1503, money was put in novā cyrotēcā.—DUGD. ORIG., 113. For “gloves of plate,” see NOTT. REC., II., 18, 22; DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., I, 5, APP. A.; HIST. MSS., IITH REPT. APP., III., 10; DERBY ACCTS., 46, 173; FIFTY WILLS, 19; ARCHÆOL., LII., 222; STRUTT, DRESS, I., 49, 103; WALS., II., 92; NICOLAS, NAVY, II., 480. ⁴ PROMPT. PARV., 368; CHAUC. (S.), I., 117, 130, 138, 420; DESCHAMPS, v., 315; LEE, 253; ROCK, II., 35; BESANT, 76; ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 23; WRIGHT, LUDLOW, 123. ⁵ For the attitude on the tomb, see STOTHARD, 79. ⁶ PROMPT. PARV., 184; LIB. ALB., II., 321; P. PLO., NOTES, p. 399. For galoches or boots reaching to the thigh, see P. PLO., XXI., 12; SHAW, DRESSES. ⁷ PLANCHÉ, 66. ⁸ HARD., 357; BROUGHAM, 366; WALL, 282. For “wlappid” or “lappid,” see WYCL. (A.), I., 259, 318, 333; II., 142; III., 9. ⁹ ARCHÆOLOGIA, XXVI., 444; ARCHÆOL. KANT., VIII., 297; BRENT, 295; cf. cistam ligneam.—TEST. EBOR., I., 349; SHARPE, II., 129, 194. “Coferred in a coffin of bordes.”—LEL. COL., IV., 308, 309, quoted in ROCK, II., 511.

Let make a coffre stronge of borde,

That it be firm with led and piche.—GOWER, CONF., 420.

He is now in his grave and in his chest.

—CHAUC., WIF OF BATH, 6083.

¹⁰ Nether weche ne leede to be leyde in.—FIFTY WILLS, 27. The piler elm the cofre unto careyne.—CHAUC. (S.), I., 341.

taken down the Thames to Gravesend¹ in a barge arrayed with lamps,² accompanied by eight vessels³ having on board the Prince of Wales, his brothers John and Humphrey, and a crowd of barons, knights, bishops, abbots, and other notables.⁴

Here it was landed, placed on a horse-bier⁵ covered with cloth-of-gold, and drawn by road to Canterbury, where they buried it in the Cathedral with great magnificence in Becket's chapel behind the high altar, between two pillars⁶ on the north side of the shrine, over against the tomb of the Black Prince. The cost is given at 500 marks,⁷ which accords well with the extravagant "vanities of candlesticks, torches and such other"⁸ items of display that characterized the pompous funerals of that age.

Two months later an iron hearse,⁹ with pikes¹⁰ and nozzles, was made and painted in London and sent down to Canterbury, to be placed over the spot where the body lay; and

¹ WAURIN, III., 160 (=I, 195, editn. DUPONT). It was the ordinary port for passengers by water, the fare being $\frac{1}{3}$ d. for each passenger in the common barge.—DENTON, 133, 195. Not Faversham, as CAXTON, 223, followed by FAB., 389; STOW, 342; KENNET, I., 305; SANDFORD, 275; HASTED, IV., 540; RAMSAY, I., 141. ² ROCK, II., 495, from CROYL., HIST., I., 556. ³ ANGL. SACR., II., 372. ⁴ WAURIN, III., 162; REDMAN, 15. ⁵ DEVON, 332; ROCK, II., 490. ⁶ CHRON. LOND., 95; SHARPE, I., 460. ⁷ DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 8. ⁸ WYCL., LAT. SERM., IV., 433, and *passim*; HARD., 370; FIFTY WILLS, 131. ⁹ RYM., IX., 14 (where reference should be PAT., I H. V., 2, not 2 H. V., 1); *ibid.*, 290; PROMPT. PARV., 236; LEE, 150; ANTIQ. REPERT., I., 308; SHARPE, II., 152; TEST. VET., I., 169, 182; LOND. AND MIDDX. ARCHÆOL. SOC., IV., 349; BLOXAM, 87, 100; WALL, 7. HOLT (217) gives cost at £2618 from ISS. ROLL, I H. V., MICH. For Queen Eleanor's hearse (1291), see MARTIN, 106. For Abbot Islip's hearse at Westminster, see ROCK, II., 500. Anne, the Queen of Richard II., had a hearse in each of the churches of St. Paul, St. Mary Overy, Westminster and Wandsworth. The cost for wax candles alone for these was £690 15s. 7d.—GOUGH, I., 170. For "a herse of tymber" at Lincoln, see ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 81. ¹⁰ Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{1}{2}$, APP. B. Cf. *botraste cum uno pyk pro cereis superfigendis*.—ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 9, 10. Botteressed wt one pike to putt candelles opon.—*Ibid.*, 19, 46.

masses were said for the dead King in a little chapel¹ built out in the opposite wall. On Trinity Sunday (June 18th, 1413),² the new King, Henry V., attended a solemn mass³ or obit⁴ at the grave, when the hearse was draped with valances⁵ of black cloth, painted with figures, and decked with 90 banners and 50 pensels bearing the arms of all the Kings of Christendom, and the nobles of all countries in the world. A hundred torches and countless wax candles burned round it, and in various parts of the church.

Twenty-four years later, Queen Joan died and was buried in the same grave. She had already raised an altar tomb over the spot, with a full-length figure of her husband in gilt and painted alabaster, robed and crowned as he had lain in state; and after her death in 1437, her own figure was placed upon it, lying by his side. No particulars are known as to the cost of the work,⁶ but I infer that the effigy of the Queen was inserted later, as

¹ Since removed.—GOUGH, III., 33; but shown in DART, 33; HASTED, IV., 518, 527. ² DEVON, 325, 326; WALS., II., 290; HYPODIG., 438. This cannot be the day of the burial; for in an order dated May 25th, 1413, the body is spoken of as already buried at Canterbury.—RYM., IX., 14. ³ SHARPE, II., 15; GOWER, CONF., 425; HOLT, 217. ⁴ FIFTY WILLS, *passim*; HOLT, 317. ⁵ CHAUC. (S.), I., 514. ⁶ For contract for King Richard II.'s tomb at Westminster to cost £250, see RYM., VII., 795. On Feb. 14th, 1419, Catherine, widow of Ralph Green, agreed with Thomas Prentys and Thomas Sutton, "kervers" of Chellaston near Derby, to pay £40 for an alabaster tomb with tabernacles "appelés gablettes" overhead, the image, tomb and arch to be "endorrez peintes et arraiés ove couleurs" for the parish of Luffwick (*i.e.*, Lowick, near Thrapston in Northamptonshire.—*INQ. P. MORT.*, IV., 30; BRIDGES, II., 185, 246), before Easter, 1420. See it figured in HALSTEAD, 188, 189; ARCHÆOL. JOURN., XLV., 243. Ralph Green was a son of Henry Green, one of the advisers of Rich. II., who was beheaded at the High Cross (NICHOLS AND TAYLOR, I., 190) at Bristol, July 29th, 1399.—*PAT.*, 13 H. IV., 1, 2. For remission of his arrears because of his services in Wales and the North, see *ibid.*, 7 H. IV., 1, 36, Oct. 6th, 1405. He was Sheriff of Northamptonshire in 1407-8.—*REC. ROLL*, 9 H. IV., PASCH., May 12th, 1408. *Ibid.*, 10 H. IV., MICH., Feb. 4th, 1409, shows him *late* Sheriff. He represented Northamptonshire in the Parliaments of 1404 and 1410.—*RETURN PARL.*, I., 267, 275. See also

the figures are not uniform in size;¹ and as her body in its leaden coffin lies altogether within the area of the base of the tomb, while that of her husband extends for about a third of its length beyond it to the west, it is evident that the structure was not placed in its present position, till after 1437.

In 1408, Queen Joan had chosen Derbyshire stone² and English carvers³ for the tomb⁴ which she erected to the memory of her first husband in the Cathedral at Nantes, and it is likely that she commissioned the same masons to carve the great monument⁵ which is still preserved at Canterbury. Above it stretches a wooden canopy, and against the pillars beyond the head is fixed a panel,⁶ painted with the murder of Becket, both panel and ceiling being charged and impressed again and again with the King's reason,⁷ the motto "Soverayne," in letters of gold. Some antiquaries have suggested⁸ that this word is a mistake for "soveigne;" but

Vol. I., p. 197, with *Corrigenda*. For protest against "coostli sepulthris," see WYCL. (A.), II., 213.

Cf. A tumber of laton noble and riche
With an image unto her liche
Liggend above therupon
They made and set it up anon.—GOWER, CONF., 425.

¹ The same discrepancy occurs on the tomb of John I. of Portugal, and his wife Philippa at Batalha, see Vol. II., p. 333, and MURPHY'S PLATE. ² For alabaster from quarries at Burton and Derby, see ARCHÆOL. JOURN., XLV., 241; BLOXAM, 208. JOHN OF GAUNT'S REGISTER (DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 13, 201 b) shows six cartloads of alabaster sent to London from Tutbury, June 18th, 1374. ³ GOWER, CONF., 369. Their names were Thomas Colyn, Thomas Holewell, and Thomas Poppehow.—RYM., VIII., 260; GOUGH, III., 35. ⁴ Figured in LOBINEAU, I., 478; MORICE, I., 426; see DICT. NAT. BIOG., XXIX., 394. For figure of the Duke of Brittany, see MONTFAUCON, III., 189, PLATE XXII., 4. ⁵ It is figured in DART, 85; SANDFORD, 274; GOUGH, III., 31; STOTHARD, 79; MONASTICON, I., 80; VERTUE, p. 11, for RAPIN, I., 503; BLORE, MON. REMAINS; WILLEMENT, 50; KNIGHT, II., 23; CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL BY G. S., 1883, p. 164; GARDINER, 290; WALL, 298; RAMSAY, I., Frontispiece. ⁶ Restored in CARTER. ⁷ HOLT, 139, 146; HALLIWELL, 671. ⁸ BELTZ, in RETROSPECTIVE REVIEW, SER. II., II., 507; ANTIQUARY, VI., 104.

“sovereyne” appears distinctly on Henry’s seal¹ when he was Duke of Hereford, as well as on that of his son John when Duke of Bedford.²

It has been generally assumed³ that the initial “S” of this word was the motive for that crux⁴ of antiquarians, the collar of S.S., which adorns Queen Joan’s neck. The S collar was certainly a part of the livery of John of Gaunt;⁵ Henry in his youth as Earl of Derby, was known amongst his fellows as “the one that wears the S”;⁶ and in most of the earliest examples⁷ of it, a connection can generally be traced

¹ ARCHÆOL., XXXI., 365; DOYLE, II., 317. ² ARCHÆOL., XXXI., 367. ³ MEYRICK, II., 103; STRUTT, REG. ANTIQ., 79; ANTIQUARY, XVI., 191; ARCHÆOL., XXXIX., 265; BLOXAM, 187; HAINES, CXVI.; FAIRHOLT, 171; CUSSANS, HERALDRY, 244. TRUSSEL (88) supposes that it dates from the reconciliation scene between the Prince and his father. ⁴ ARCHÆOL. JOURN., XXXIX., 376; ARCHÆOL. CANT., I., 73-93; ROCK, III., 65. For the collars of the Chief Justices and Chief Baron, and the supposed derivation from St. Simplicius, see DUGDALE, ORIG. JUDIC., 102; CARTER, 143. ⁵ KAL. AND INV., III., 322; ARCHÆOLOGIA, L., 455, 510; ROT. PARL., III., 313. For S collar round his arms in window over his tomb in St. Paul’s (Vol. III., p. 237, note 3), see W. S. SIMPSON, GLEANINGS, 67, from LANSDOWNE MS., 874; PLATE LXXIX., D. fo. 115 b. His wife Catherine Swynford gave to the Cathedral at Lincoln a red velvet cope “sett wt white hertes lying in coloers full of thes letturs SS.”—ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 23, 49. BESANT (WHITTINGTON, 135) thinks that it was “introduced in the year 1407 by Henry IV. as his livery.” ⁶ “Qui gerit S.”—POL. SONGS, I., 419; RETROSPECTIVE REV., SER. II., II., 507; ARCHÆOL. JOURN., XXXIX., 378; PLANCHÉ, I., 127. ⁷ BOUTELL, 262; ARCHÆOL. CANT., I., 81, 87; GOWER, CONF., XVII. The brass of Sir Thomas Burton at Little Casterton (Rutland) is supposed to be 30 years later than his death in 1381.—BOUTELL, BRASSES, 35; HAINES, CXVI. The collar occurs on brasses of Sir Thomas Massingberd at Gunby (Lincs.), circ. 1415, and John Leventhorpe at Sawbridgeworth.—BOUTELL, BRASSES, 32, 39; on the effigy of Thos. Earl of Arundel (d. 1415) in Arundel Church (DOYLE, I., 74), John Earl of Arundel (d. 1435, *ibid.*, I., 76), and on the effigies of Sir Walter Devereux (d. 1402), and Sir John Marbury and Agnes his wife (d. circ. 1430), in the choir of Weobley Church, Herefordshire. For effigy of Wm. Pheip (d. 1441) at Dennington, Suffolk, see GARDINER, 304. In PAT., 7 H. IV., 2, 29, May 10th, 1406, William Hunter of Pembroke, when a prisoner in Lincoln gaol in 1403, took unum colerium Edmundi Buge de nigro serico cum literis argenteis de S stipatum, valued at 6s. 8d. For green gown

with the house of Lancaster. But if the letter has any significance beyond its accidental link-shaped¹ suitability, it is better to connect it with the word "souveingne"² or Forget-me-not, which we know to have been Henry's flower and device in goldsmith's work.³

The King's features, as carved on the monument, portray a heavy face, with broad brow and large bare cheeks. The hair is parted in the middle, and cropped close round the nut head⁴ into a thick pad,⁵ on which sits the great Lancaster crown,⁶ the nape of the neck being close shorn, according to

embroidered from collar to sleeve with S of livery of Lord Humphrey, in 1408, see Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{4}{8}$, APP. B. Cf. HUNTER, HALLAMSHIRE, 62, for wife of John Talbot, where "S" appears to have no connection with Salop. Unum coler de S.—TEST. EBOR., II., 258. Cathena aurea cum le esses.—FABR. ROLLS, 235. Un collier semé de lettres de S.—JUV., 521; BEKYNTON, I., xxx.

¹For other letters as A, C, M, P, R, U, X, see Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{6}{8}$, APP. B.; KAL. AND INV., III., 333, 336, 338, 345; TEST. EBOR., I., 177, 295; CHAUC., PROL., 161; ISS. ROLL, 8 H. IV., MICH., Oct. 29th, 1406, where the original has "et literis de S et X aymellat" (*i.e.*, enamelled); not "10 amulets," as DEVON, 305. ²Cf. Vol. II., p. 288, note; DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 1, 2, 5, APP. A.; DERBY ACCTS., 101, 110, 163, 342; HOLT, 144. For the forget-me-not as a common device,

cf. La ot la flour de ne m'oubliez mie,
Souviengne vous de moy qui n'est blesmie
Mais vermeillie dont amant et amie
Font chappellez,
Et qu'ils mettent souvent en amellez
Pour devises et autres jouellez,
Qu'ils se donnent jolis et nouvellez
Par drueriè. PISAN, II., 162.

For Souveingne (or souviengne) vous de my, see DESCHAMPS, IV., 146; v., 304. ³For English metal work, see DENTON, 54. ⁴Cf. A not-heede hadde he with a brown visage.—CHAUC., PROL., 109. For knotty (or notty) pated, see HY. IV., PT. I., II., 4, 251. ⁵The parting continued through to the forehead proves that it is really hair which projects below the rim and not a pad, as supposed in STOTHARD, p. 82; PLANCHÉ, I., 150, 242, etc.; WALL, 299, who calls it a "fillet below the crown covering the hair entirely." On the screen at York this peculiarity is seen with great exaggeration. ⁶BOUTELL, 249; ENCYCL. BRIT., s.v. "Harry-Crown"; HOLT, 135.

the fashion of the time.¹ The upper lip is clean in the centre, but flanked on either side with thick curled moustache,² start-

¹ Cf. His heer was by his eres round i-shorn.—CHAUC., *PROL.*, 589. Cf. the portraits of Henry V. in TYLER and CHURCH; also HOCLEVEV's Miniature, in *MS. REG.*, 17 D., vi., f. 40; KNIGHT, II., 24; SHAW, Vol. II., from B.M. MS., ARUNDEL, 38; also the Dukes of Bedford from *ADD. MS.*, 18850; and Exeter in DOYLE, I., 150, 712; KNIGHT, II., 55; GOUGH, III., 112, 155; Lord Hungerford in Salisbury Cathedral; John Wantley (1424) at Amberley in Sussex.—BOUTELL, BRASSES, 38; the Earls of Arundel and Warwick in STOTHARD, 83, 88, 91; GOUGH, III., 186; TIERNEY, II., 622; KNIGHT, II., 210, 245, 247; DOYLE, I., 74; III., 583; GARDINER, 314, 315. Wm. Herbert, E. of Pembroke (d. 1469).—DOYLE, III., 15, from *MS. REG.*, 18, D. II. Sir Thomas Peyton and John Bernard at Isleham near Ely.—GOUGH, III., 167, 286; LYSONS, II., 68; KNIGHT, II., 247. Thomas Colt at Roydon near Waltham Abbey.—GOUGH, II., 252. John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury.—STRUTT, *DRESS, PLATE CXV.*; SHAW, *DRESSES, Vol. II.*, and STRUTT, *ANTIQ.*, 85; KNIGHT, II., 242; DOYLE, III., 309 (from *MS. REG.*, 15, E. VI.); see also illustrations from *HARL. MS.*, 4379, in *JOHNES' FROISSART.*, II., 344, 387, 460. Sir John Say at Broxbourne.—GOUGH, III., 220; CUSSANS, II., 184. Henry Green at Lowick in Northamptonshire.—GOUGH, III., 215. Sir John Shernborne at Shernborne near Lynn.—*Ibid.*, 185. Sir Thomas Green at Greens Norton, 1462.—BOUTELL, BRASSES, 43. William Markby in St. Bartholomew-the-Less, Smithfield, and John Fountain at Narford near Lynn.—GOUGH, III., 126. William Chichele at Higham Ferrers.—*Ibid.*, 80; BOUTELL, BRASSES, 49 (Vol. III., p. 136, note 8). Giles Malet (d. 1411.—DELISLE, I., 46), librarian of the Louvre, in window at Bonport near Pont de l'Arche.—MAGASIN PITTORESQUE, 1861, p. 236. Thomas Montague, Earl of Salisbury.—SHAW, *DRESSES, Vol. II.*; DOYLE, III., 241, from *HARL. MS.*, 4826. For Duke of Berry at Bourges, temp. CH., VII., see HAZÉ, *PLATES* 39, 40, 49. John Dengayn and his 12 sons (circ., 1460) at Quy, Cambridgeshire.—HAINES, LXXXVIII., also p. CXCIII. (editn. 1861). Edward Courtenay (c. 1460) at Christ Church, Oxford.—MACKLIN, 78. For brass at Isleworth, see HAINES (edn. 1861), p. CXCII. Thomas Quartermayn at Thame (c., 1460).—*Ibid.*, CXC.V.; BOUTELL, BRASSES, 42. Sir Hugh Halsham (1441) at West Grinstead, John Gaynesford (1458) at Crowhurst, and four sons of Sir Robert Staunton at Castle Donington.—*Ibid.*, 40. Sir Robert del Bothe (1460) at Wilmslow.—*Ibid.*, 41. William Grevel, woolmerchant (1401), at Chipping Camden.—*Ibid.*, 48. Thomas Stokes (1416) at Ashby Ledgers.—*Ibid.*, 49. Walter Beauchamp (1430) at Checkendon.—*Ibid.*, 53. Robert Skerne (1437), Kingston-on-Thames.—*Ibid.*, 50; LYSONS, *ENVIRONS*, I., 244. Jenkin Smith (1480), St. Mary's, Bury St. Edmund's.—BOUTELL, BRASSES, 52. John Carpenter in BESANT, WHITTINGTON (Frontispiece). In *FINE ARTS QUARTERLY REV.* N.S., II., the fashion is traced to Norman times and the Bayeux tapestry. ² Cf. the contemporary portrait of Richard II. in Westminster Abbey, with duplicates at Windsor, Longleat, and Lumley.—*FINE ARTS QUART.*

ing from the outer edge of the nostrils,¹ and the coarse brutish chin is fringed with a forked beard,² split in the centre and curled in two wisps,—a type of manhood much in vogue with stonemasons of the middle 15th century, as shown in the figures on the screen at the entrance to the choir in York Minster.³

REV., N. S., II., 27, 30, 39, 45; GOUGH, II., 163. For portrait of him at Wilton House, see SHAW, DRESSES, Vol. I.; LIBER REGALIS, x.; ROCK, TEXTILE FABRICS, CXII., CXLII., 269; ELSTRACK, SERIES OF PORTRAITS, I., 32; FINE ARTS QUART. REV., N. S., II., 32; ARCHÆOLOGIA, XXIX., 36; XLV., 309; GILBERT, VICEROYS, 265; GREEN, SHORT HIST., Vol. II. Illustrated; SCHARF, DESCRIPTION OF THE DIPTYCH AT WILTON HOUSE, 1882. For his bust in Westminster Hall, see DEVON, 228. For portrait of Duke of Gloucester, uncle to Richard II. (Earl of Onslow's collection), see ANTIQ. REPERT., II., 210.

¹ For similar examples see brass of Sir George Felbrigg (1400) at Playford, Suffolk, in COTMAN, II., p. 6, Plate VI.; John Brook (1426) at Easton, Suffolk, *ibid.*, II., 9, Plate IX.; John Norwich (1428) Yoxford, Suffolk, *ibid.*, II., 9, Plate X.; John Framlingham (1430) Debenham, Suffolk, *ibid.*, II., 10, Plate XI.; also brasses of Sir William Tendring (1408) at Stoke, Suffolk, in COTMAN II., 8, Plate VIII.; Richard Purdaunce (1436) St. Giles', Norwich, *ibid.* I., 58, App. Plate II. ² Cf. the figures of Chaucer from MS. REG., 17 D., VI., f. 93; STRUTT, REGAL ANTIQ., 73; GOWER in FAIRHOLT, 177; STRUTT, ANTIQ., III.; Edward the Black Prince in STRUTT, DRESS, II., Plate LXXXIV.; GARDINER, 264; John of Gaunt in DOYLE, II., 314; Richard II. in GARDINER, 267; and the wall-paintings in Friskney Church, near Wainfleet.—ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 427-432; also the great silver seal of Henry IV. (not Henry V.) in SANDFORD, 245; SPEED, 635; the seal of Owen Glendower.—Vol. II., p. 15, note 8. The Treasurer (?) in the picture of the Irish Exchequer, *temp.* H. IV., from a sketch in the Irish Red Book of the Exchequer.—GENT. MAG., N. S., 43, 37; KILKENNY ARCHÆOL. SOC. PROCEEDINGS, III., 46. The Merchant in CHAUCER (PROLOGUE, 272).—ELLESMERE MS.; JUSSERAND, 242. The brasses of Richard Martyn (c. 1402) at Dartford in HAINES, edn., 1861, p. cci. The civilians at Ore and Tilbrook (c. 1400), and the woolmen at North Leach (c. 1400) and Chipping Camden (1401) in BOUTELL, BRASSES, 47, 48. The brasses of Robert Attelath (d. 1376) at St. Margaret's Church, Lynn, COTMAN, I., p. 7, Plate VII.; of Henry Nottingham (d. 1410) at Holm-by-the-Sea (*ibid.*, p. 12, Plate XIV.); and John Daniel, Mayor of Norwich, 1406 (d. 1418) in St. Stephen's Church, Norwich (*ibid.*, b. 15, Plate XVII.). ³ CARTER, 142. Though I cannot recognise the "individuality of character" claimed for them in FINE ARTS QUART. REV., N. S., II., 42. Cf. the figure of John of Gaunt at All Souls, Oxford.—CARTER, 113, and VERTUE, p. 6, for RAPIN, I., 436; also figure of Charlemagne in a window dated 1469 on south side of St. Mary's Church at Shrewsbury dedicated by Thurdon de Lepide, *canonicus tituli sci lubecij mī deliechē*.

Two other representations of King Henry IV. are still preserved in stone, one carved on a boss over a doorway in the south aisle of the choir of the Minster at Southwell,¹ the other in a niche on the outer east wall of the church at Battlefield,² but neither of them has any pretension to be regarded as an attempt at original portraiture. There is a small kneeling figure³ of him on glass, in Bishop Langley's window, on the south side of the choir at York; though the face has nothing characteristic about it, except the forked beard. Representations of him occur in several of the pictures illustrating the metrical history of Creton,⁴ and in two early editions of Froissart⁵ in the British Museum; but these are the work of French miniaturists of at least a generation later than his death; and a glance at them will show that each artist treated his subject in his own way, the result being three entirely irreconcilable presentments, all of them, of course, alike fanciful. And the same must also be said of a picture in the *Liber Regalis* at Westminster, in which Henry appears as a young man, bearing a sword at the coronation of Richard II.⁶

Nearer to his own time, and with the added interest of being English workmanship, is a picture in which the King is being presented with a copy of Hoccleve's translation of *De Regimine Principum*, now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford;⁷ but even

¹ PLANCHÉ, I., 127. ² W. G. D. FLETCHER, 18. ³ Immediately above the figure of Langley two panels to the right of St. Cuthbert. For a possible figure of him in one of the Fairford windows, see PROCEEDINGS SOC. OF ANTIQUARIES, XIV., 55. ⁴ HARL. MS., 1319; STRUTT, REG. ANTIQ., 51, 59, 61, 65; ARCHÆOLOGIA, XX., 120, 167, 179, 191; DOYLE, II., 316; GARDINER, 284, 285; RAMSAY, I., XLVIII. JUSSERAND, 15, 86, regards it as an actual portrait; also HOLT, VI., and LANGLEY, 136, 151, where it is called a "painting by an eyewitness," "Creton's illumination," etc. ⁵ HARL. MS., 4379; ROY. LIB., 18, E. 2; STRUTT, REG. ANTIQ., 63, 75; FROIS. (JOHNES), IV., 603, 605, 668, 671; KNIGHT, II., 155. ⁶ STRUTT, REG. ANTIQ., 33. ⁷ DIGBY, 233; STRUTT, REG. ANTIQ., 77; KNIGHT, II., 238.

if meant to be a likeness, it would have to be discarded as a meaningless failure. A better claim to genuine portraiture may be put in for the little figure, about an inch long, illuminated in an initial letter in the book of Duchy Charters,¹ in the Public Record Office in London. It is believed to be the work of Richard Frampton,² and represents a King standing, clad in a blue robe, with ermine sleeves and cape. In his right hand he holds a sword of state, his hair is long and flowing, and his beard forked and moustache parted.

In the second year of his reign, King Henry had a new seal³ struck in silver, in which he appears with flowing robes and a bifid beard, but little else that is distinctive. On the new coinage uttered in 1412,⁴ the head is quite conventional, showing long flowing curls and no beard, and is identical in all essentials with the die that had done duty for the coins of all his predecessors, since the days of Edward I. His Great Seal he took over from Edward III. and Richard II., without any alteration in the figures;⁵ but in 1406,⁶ he discarded the

¹ *I.e.*, GREAT COUCHER BOOK OF CARTÆ REGUM, Vol. I., p. 51.
² Vol. III., p. 232, note 7. ³ DEVON, 279; assigned to Henry V. in SANDFORD, 245; SPEED, 635; and KNIGHT, II., 24. But it is proved to have been struck by Henry IV., in ARCHÆOL. JOURN., II., 28, 30, 39.
⁴ Vol. IV., p. 47; E. HAWKINS, Pl. xxv. (SILVER), Pl. III. (GOLD); NUM. CHRON. O.S., VIII., 125; N. S., VII., 20; XI., 105, 110, Plate III.; 3rd S., II., 123. ⁵ RYM., III., 667 (editn. 1830); SANDFORD, 190, 244; SPEED, 603, 623; ARCHÆOL. JOURN., II., 24; FOSS, IV., 130; ARCHÆOLOGIA, XLVII., 201; PAULI, v., 5. For his privy seal, see ARCHÆOLOGIA, XXXI., 366. For a leaden seal of Henry IV. "for his land beyond Tweed," found in ploughing a field at Catchburn near Morpeth, see ARCHÆOL. ÆL. (1884), 28, 191. ⁶ BOUTELL, 229, 333; and Chap. XIX., Plate A.; BIRCH, CATALOGUE OF SEALS, 31; GOUGH, III., 68. The three fleurs-de-lys are on the stall-plates of the Duke of York, circ. 1402 (BOUTELL, 184), and of Henry, Prince of Wales (*ibid.*, 333), though there is no certainty that the latter dates from the time of his election as a Knight of the Garter, which certainly took place before 1401.—NICOLAS, II.; APP. XXVII., XLIX,

powdered¹ fleurs-de-lys which had been assumed by the Kings of England since the Treaty of Bretigny, in favour of the triple flower of Charles V.,² which remained quartered in the scutcheon³ of England for the next 200 years.

The well-known portrait which figures as King Henry IV. in the pictorial histories,⁴ has really no sort of claim to originality. In it he is shown to the waist, holding in his right hand a red rose of Lancaster (a proof in itself of the lateness of the picture⁵), and in his left a sceptre. The face is roughly sketched, with brown eyes, long moustache and forked beard, and the forehead is wrapped about with a kerchief,⁶ like that in Hoccleve's miniature of Chaucer.⁷ Three old examples

¹ ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 37, 38. ² SANDFORD, 157; ARCHÆOLOGIA, XLVII., 138; CUSSANS, HERALDRY, 209; BOUTELL, 73, 141, 229; GARDINER, 239, 291; HOFFMANN, Plates xxv., xxvi. HAINES, CXVI., who wrongly attributes the change to Henry V. About the same time King John I. reduced the number of besants in the arms of Portugal, from ten to five.—MENEZES, 411; FARIA Y SOUSA, 274. His arms in the cloister at Canterbury contain three "gallies," according to WILLEMENT, 137. ³ "Skochen."—WYCL. (M.), 99. ⁴ *E.g.*, SANDFORD, 265; GUTHRIE, II., 393. ⁵ WALPOLE, I., 34. ⁶ For keuvrechiés, see DEHAISNES, II., 895. Cf. keuerchief.—HOCCL., MIN. PO., 139. Keuerchef.—CHAUC., PROL., 453. Couverchief.—CHAUC. (S.), I., 254, 345; MAN OF LAW, 5257. Cueuvrechief.—PISAN, I., 201; II., 175, 204; DESCHAMPS, v., 220; VII., 82; VIII., 15, 55, 137. Keuercheris.—WYCL. (M.), 65, 205, 246. Kerchur.—ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIV., 82. For j webbe de kerches, see DERBY ACCTS, 94. ⁷ HARL. MS., 4866; MS. REG., 17 D., VI., f. 93; STRUTT, REG. ANTIQ., Pl. xxxvii.; DRESS, Pl. LXXXVII., cx., cxxvi.; Frontispiece to CHAUCER, SPEGHT; (S.), Vol. I.; POLLARD; SHAW, DRESSES, Vol. I.; HOCCL., MIN. PO., xxxiii.; GARDINER, 270. For similar examples, see STRUTT, Plate xxxix., xli., from HARL. MS. 2278, *temp.* HY. VI.; SHAW, DRESSES, Vol. I., from *ibid.*, 2897; KNIGHT, II., 159, 238, 239, 242; LONDON, I., 23; NICHOLLS AND TAYLOR, I., 152, 203; also the windows in St. Mary's Hall at Coventry, in DUGD., WARWICKSHIRE, 121; STRUTT, DRESS, II., Plate LXXVIII.; DOYLE, II., 582; III., 388. Monument of Henry Bourchier, Earl of Essex (d. 1483), at Little Easton, near Dunmow.—*Ibid.*, I., 686. The same head-dress appears on portraits of Sir John Cornwall at Delbury (or Diddlebury) Hall in Corvedale (Salop), and Moccas Court, Herefordshire; but the latter is known to have been painted in the reign of Hy. VIII., by Lucas Cornelii of Leyden, as one of a series of the Constables of Queensborough, and is probably

of this picture still exist, all painted on panel, coarse in colour and workmanship, and varying slightly from each other in some trifling details. The earliest of them is probably that in the Royal Collection at Windsor.¹ The second is now in the National Portrait Gallery,² and the third was at one time in an old Manor-house at Hampton Court, on the banks of the Lugg near Leominster. This house was traditionally believed³ to have been built by Henry IV., and given by him to Sir Roland Lenthall, a Herefordshire knight.⁴ The manor⁵

modelled on the picture of Henry IV. For full-length figure of Cornwall in a tabard from Amptill Church, see OGILVIE, IMPERIAL DICTIONARY, II., 946. For particulars of the Moccas picture, I am indebted to the Rev. Sir Geo. Hy. Cornwall, who informs me that it was given to his great grandfather, Vitters Cornwall, by Mr. Perry of Penshurst. For figures on tomb of Louis, Duke of Flanders at Lille, see MONTFAUCON, III., 184, 186. For Richard II.—*Ibid.*, 188. For Philip, Duke of Burgundy (d. 1467), see BARANTE, Vols. IV., VI., Frontispiece; PLANCHÉ, II., 145. For Jacques Cœur at Bourges (circ. 1450), see HAZÉ, Plate 34. For Froissart, see MASSON, 169. Cf. also coin of Charles VI.—WALPOLE, I., 32. John, Duke of Brabant.—BARANTE, III., Frontispiece. Richard Whittington.—ANTIQ. REPERT., II., 343. Treasurer and Clerk of the Pipe in Irish Red Book of Exchequer, figured in GENT. MAG., N. S., XLIII, 37; KILKENNY ARCHÆOL. SOC., III., 46. For French and Spanish examples, see PLANCHÉ, I., 206; II., 118, 120; CHAMPOLLION-FIGÉAC, Pl. XIV.; ENCYCL. BRIT., VI., 470; LEROUX DE LINCY, 44 (from MS. 2090 in BIBL. NAT.) and 190. For Flemish heads, see portrait of John Barratt (dated 1425), number 73 in Gallery at Brussels, and Quentin Metsys, Legend of St. Anne. It appears on the bailiff, the schoolmaster, and the advocate, in the Dance of Death, painted on the walls of the Cemetery of the Church of the Holy Innocents in Paris.—LEROUX DE LINCY, 301, 304, 308. For the scribe in CHRONIQUE DE HAINAULT, see LACROIX, 51. I can find no authority for the statement in VERTUE (p. 6), that "all the knights of the Garter of the first institution, have the same head-dress," but a K. G. appears with it temp. Ed. IV., or R. III. "from a drawing in possession of Mr. Willement," in SHAW, DRESSES, Vol. II.

¹ So I was informed by Sir G. Scharf in 1891. CATALOGUE OF NATL. PORTRAITS (1866), p. 3; ARCHÆOLOGIA, XXXIX., 246. ² It was purchased in 1870. ³ According to the inscription on the Cassiobury picture, "Henry the fourth, King of England, laid the first stone of this house," see also DINGLEY, CCXXXIX.; BURKE, COMMONERS, I., 178. ⁴ HARL. SOC., v., 199; VI., 169; INQ. P. MORT., IV., 248, 267. He was Captain of Aberystwith in 1403-4.—Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{3}{8}$, APP. F. ⁵ G. F. TOWNSEND, 167; J. WEBB, CIVIL WAR IN HEREFORDSHIRE, I., 210.

had passed to Lenthall on his marriage with Margaret, daughter of Richard, Earl of Arundel, and Prince Hal resided there for a time when campaigning on the Welsh border. Lenthall was a prominent man in the reign of Henry V., who left him a gold cup when he made his will in 1415.¹ He fought at Agincourt, and was frequently employed afterwards as an envoy² in the French wars; but I can find no confirmation for Leland's statement that he was "Yeoman of the Robes to King Henry IV."³ In course of time it came to be believed that not only did Henry IV. build the house, but that he left the picture in it when he gave the house to Lenthall, and an inscription to that effect is on the panel yet. In Jan., 1683,⁴ the picture was seen by Thomas Dingley, an antiquary who lived a few miles away at Dilwyn. He gives a rough sketch of it, as he saw it in the Yellow Room at Hampton Court, but he has left out the rose from the hand, and put a crown on the head. In 1736,⁵ it was engraved by George Vertue, who refined the features as an illustration for Rapin's History, and in this form the King has taken his place permanently in the popular imagination. The picture passed by inheritance to the family of the Earl of Essex, and is now at Cassiobury House near Watford.⁶

Thus when all the evidence is summed up, we must confess that we know little or nothing of King Henry's face, beyond what we can learn from its actual condition, when the

¹ RYM., IX., 292. ² *Ibid.*, 550, 588, 632, 692, 740; X., 29. ³ LEL. ITIN., IV., 177 a. (p. 70). Not "Henry V.," as DUNCUMB, I., 89. ⁴ DINGLEY, I., 92, CCXXXIX. ⁵ VERTUE; WALPOLE (I., 27, 32), apparently on Vertue's authority, considers it "an undoubted original." In 1895, Mr. J. H. Arkwright, the present owner of Hampton Court, showed me a similar picture of Henry VII. which probably belonged to the same series painted about the end of the 15th century. ⁶ CUSSANS, III., II., 168.

bandages were cut away, after it had been buried for more than 400 years; from which we gather that he had lost one of his front teeth and that he had a thick red beard, though even in this we may be wrong as to the colour, for it is said to be an observed fact that "human hair often turns red after long interment."¹ The jaws were found to be perfect, the nose elevated with even the cartilage remaining, though on the admission of the air it sunk rapidly away, while the skin of the cheek was entire, but brown and moist like the leather of a shoe.²

¹ LOND. AND MIDLX. ARCHÆOL. SOC., III., 545. The hair of the Roman lady in the museum at York, is russet in colour. Cf. BLOXAM, 63, 72. That of Sir Thomas Browne at Norwich, is "a fine auburn."—N. AND Q., 8th SER., VI., 269. For King Henry's mother's hair,

cf. For every heer upon hir hede,
Soth to seyn hit was not rede,
Ne nouthur yelw ne brown hit nas,
Me thoughte most lyk gold hit was.

—CHAUC. (S.), I., 306; A. W. WARD, 70.

For the gold-wire hair of the reigning beauties, see Vol. II., p. 443, note 8.

Hir heer was as yelowe of hewe,

As any basin scoured newe.—CHAUC. (S.), I., 116.

Hir heer was yelowe and cleer shyning.—*Ibid.*, 129, 136.

And Phebus died hath hire tresses grete,

Like to the stremes of his burned hete.

—CHAUC., DOCTOR, 11971.

Hir heer that oundy was and cris,

As burned gold hit shoon to see.—CHAUC. (S.), IV., 42.

Cf. "gilte heres."—CHAUC. (S.), I., 345; III., 129. "Sonnysh heres."—*Ibid.*, II., 325, 328. "Yelow heer."—*Ibid.*, III., 143. "Writhen heer."—WYCL. (A.), III., 193. For golden hair of Beatrice della Scala, wife of Bernabo Visconti, 1350, see WENCK, 40. ² Vol. II., p. 363, note 2; ARCHÆOL. CANT., VIII., 298; ARCHÆOLOGIA, XXVI., 444, XLVI., 326; WALL, 302. Cf. Vol. III., p. 126, note.

CHAPTER XCVII.

SUMMARY.

AND if this is all our really authentic knowledge of King Henry's face, we fare but little better when we seek to reproduce his character. It would, of course, be possible, by the aid of rhetoric and imagination, to construct a neatly balanced paragraph of antithetic phrases, such as would have been expected by every reader of history a century or two ago;¹ but if we look for a genuine estimate of him as he appeared to his contemporaries, we are very soon gravelled for lack of matter.

When Earl of Derby, and without prospect of becoming a King, he travelled Europe² from Danzig to Venice, and wherever he went he made himself a name for friendliness³ among all with whom he had to do. To the Scots he was

¹For specimens, see KENNETT, I., 305; ECHARD, I., 434; LARREY, I., 804; COLLIER, I., 632; GUTHRIE, II., 443; HUME, II., 296; RAMSAY, I., 142; O. AIRY, 140. S. TURNER (II., 371) calls him "altogether a superior man." ROWLAND WILLIAMS (LXVIII.) admits that he "displays urbanity with no wanton preference for crime." For unfavourable estimates, see RAPIN, III., 416; CARTE, II., 629, 673, who thinks that "his fundamental defect was a narrowness of mind, which disabled him from treating anybody that he suspected in a generous manner." HOLT calls him "an atrocious falsifier of State papers" (LANGLEY, 323), but thinks that he was "not a man who loved cruelty for its own sake."—*Ibid.*, 264. BROUGHAM (51, 52) calls him "the great criminal," "the delinquent," etc., "rendering him who had broken the laws of descent exceedingly hateful in all men's eyes." ²PRUTZ, LXXXVI.-XCIX.; DERBY ACCTS., LI.-LXXIX. ³"Amicabilis."—CAPGR., DE ILLUSTR. HENR., 100.

half a Scot,¹ and to the Prussians he was a child of Spruce.² When champions from all parts of Europe assembled in the lists at Sandingfield³ on the March of Calais, he stood out pre-eminent for his strength, his skill, and the splendour of his largess.⁴ He was then about 24 years of age, and in the flush of his triumph he applied to the King of France⁵ for permission to join the Duke of Bourbon's expedition to Barbary; but for some reason the force was made up without him,⁶ and he turned his steps towards Prussia instead. Two

¹ Semi-Scotus.—SCOTICHRON., II., 430; GODSCROFT, 116; BELTZ, 24, 345. Because his mother was descended from the Comyns.—RAMSAY, I., 26. He calls the Scottish Earl of March, consanguineus noster.—Vol. I., p. 128, note 1; RYM., VIII., 400. ² Vol. IV., p. 9. ³ Called by the French St. Inglevert.—ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 294, 364. ⁴ For praise of him at St. Inglevert, April 20th, 1390, see Vol. I., p. 5; FROIS., XIV., 150, 151, 416, 420; ST. DENYS, I., 652, 680; JUV., 383.

Mais point ne veul metre en oubli,

Que le noble conte d'Erbi

Eut contre chascun de nos gens

Chine lanches à veu de mon sens.—PICHON, 74.

Comes Herbicensis (*i.e.*, Derby) primogenitus ducis Lincestrensis qui eis suâ largitate plura et magna donativa dedit.—CHRONIQUES DES DUCS DE BOURGOGNE, III., 214. The subject was worked in tapestry (fait de file d'Arraz) before 1396.—EC. DES CHARTES, XLVIII., 89, 413. For £10 paid (May 8th, 1402) to Bertolf Van der Eme for hurt received in the neck, while fencing with Henry with the long sword, see DEVON, 284. ⁵ May 4th, 1390.—MALVERN, 235, 238; DERBY ACCTS., XXXIX., 15. ⁶ M. A. E. GREEN (III., 307) thinks that he went to Barbary after his return from Prussia. ST. DENYS (I., 652) states that he actually headed the English force at Tunis, and this would appear to be supported by DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., I, 6, where a document dated London, May 6th, 1390 (=13 R. II.) (Vol. II., p. 5, note 4; DERBY ACCTS., I; not May 16th, as DEP. KEEP., 30TH REPT., p. 36), shows that R. Kingston was appointed on that day Treasurer for proposed voyages to Barbary and Pruce, and another pinned to the same bundle, and dated Peterborough, Jan. 1st (15 R. II.=), 1392, authorises an audit of Kingston's accounts as Treasurer, pour cestes nos darreins viages vers les parties de Barbarye et en Pruse. But no Barbary account has yet been found, and it is evident from Kingston's own account for Pruce (Vol. IV., p. 8, note 4), that Henry did not go with the Barbary expedition in person. No mention of his being present is found in CAPGRAVE, KNIGHTON, or WALSINGHAM.

years later, when he visited Milan¹ on his way back from the Holy Land, he left a pleasant memory in the mind of the Archbishop, who afterwards, as Pope Alexander V., professed for him a personal affection and regard;² while poor little Lucy Visconti, the Duke's niece, then only 15 years old,³ was so smitten with the English stranger, that six years after, when they wanted her to marry some one else,⁴ she cried and would not let her tiring-maid put on her frock, vowing that she would wait till her life's end to marry Henry of Derby, even if she had to die three days after she was wed.⁵

Later on, he spent half a year of exile⁶ in Paris, where he was sweet, gracious, courteous, neighbourly, and well-liked by all who knew him.⁷ At his coronation the Dukes of Orleans and

¹ Vol. III., p. 385; *i.e.*, May 13th-17th, 1393.—DERBY ACCTS., LXVIII., 241, 242, 254, 287, 288; PRUTZ, xcvi. ² Qui personam tuam dudum in partibus Lumbardie dum a sepulchro divino reverteris vidimus et cognovimus ac propter singulares virtutes quas in te elucere conspeximus semper precipuam caritate ac singulari affectione secuti sumus. LETTER FROM ALEXANDER V. (July 8th, 1409) in HARL. MS., 431, 65 (32). Cf. Illam quam in partibus Lumbardiæ dum eratis in minoribus constitui de personâ nostrâ noticiam vos habuisse recolitis. HENRY'S REPLY (Oct. 28th, 1409).—ADD. MS., 24062, f. 155. In a letter dated circ. Nov., 1408, the Archbishop addressed him as amice noster honorandissime.—MART. COLL., vii., 815. ³ She was born about 1379.—WENCK, 4, 36. ⁴ *I.e.*, Frederick, son of Balthasar, Landgraf of Thüringia, June 28th, 1399.—WENCK, 14, 15, 22; ENG. HIST. REV., x., 791. For her proposed marriage with Stephen, son of King Rupert, in 1404, see *ibid.* 37. WENCK (39, 42), pictures her as living in solitary widowhood after the E. of Kent's death in 1408; but see Vol. III., 104, note 6, for her subsequent marriage. The church of S. Maria della Scala, to which she left 1000 crowns, was built by her mother, Beatrice, daughter of Mastino della Scala, Lord of Verona.—WENCK, 40, 42. ⁵ From documents in GIULINI, MEMORIE DI MILANO, CONTINUAZIONE, III., 591; ROMANO, 610-614; quoted in WENCK, 20, 31, who seems to assume too much affection for her on Henry's side. For a very short time before this he was arranging to be married to the Duke of Berry's daughter in Paris. For Lucy's short-lived betrothal to Louis of Anjou, King of Naples, Apr. 20th, 1385, see WENCK, 6. ⁶ For 1000 marks sent to him at Calais, see DEVON, 268. ⁷ Bien aimé de tous, gracieux, doux, courtois, et traittable.—FROIS., xvi., 136, 140. Stans ibi præclarus regno fuit undique carus.—GOWER, in POL. SONGS, I., 441.

Burgundy¹ both sent presents to him as a handsel for the new reign; and at the jousts held at Eltham in the Christmas of the following year, he was hailed as the successor of Charlemagne and Arthur.² The Greek Emperor Manuel,³ who was his guest at the time, was fascinated with his politeness; and in his letter to Chrysoloras,⁴ exhausted his su-

¹ Vol. I., p. 85; FROIS., XVI., 361. ² M. A. E. GREEN, III., 315, from ARUNDEL MS., HERALDS' COLLEGE, f. 33. For cost of painting his trappings, standards, pensels, and phanons, see ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCTS., L. T. R., XI., 12, APP. C. ³ For full length portrait of Manuel from the BOOK OF ST. DENYS, see COMBEFIS, II., 1043; DELISLE, I., 205; RENIERI, 66, quoting TIRABOSCHI, VI., 783; MONTFAUCON, PALÆOGR. GR., 56, where he is represented with a flowing beard (cf. barbifer exul.—LANGEBEK, I., 193), a sceptre in his right hand, and a scroll in his left. The book was brought to Paris by Chrysoloras in 1408 (ACAD. DES INSCR., XIX., 149), and is still at St. Denis (number 416). He is said to have left Constantinople on Dec. 4th, 1399 (FINLAY, III., 473), or Dec. 10th.—DELAVILLE, I., 379; ACAD. DES INSCR., XIX., 94. In Paris, Charles VI. gave him a hanap and a gold ewer (*aiguïère*), which cost 466 francs.—DOUET D'ARCO, 197 (Aug. 14th, 1400), where his treasurer is called Matthew Criaxthesalo. The cost of his stay at Calais is given at £400.—DEVON, 284; see also ISS. ROLL, 3 H. IV., PASCH., Apr. 21st, 1402. He had a rough passage crossing from Calais to Dover (μετὰ διπλοῦ τοῦ χειμῶνος τοῦ τε τῆς ἄρας τοῦ τε τῆς τύχης.—MS. 3041, 21, 23, BIBL. NAT.), where he was met in the King's name by Lord Grey of Codnor, whose expenses for the duty were still unpaid four years afterwards.—ISS. ROLL, 7 H. IV., MICH., Nov. 3rd, 1405. On April 24th, 1406, two envoys from him were in Paris, begging for funds, *viz.*, Constantine Rallys and Alexis Bissipati.—ORDONNANCES, IX., 109, 148; ACAD. DES INSCR., XIX., 140. For a coin of Manuel with two other figures on the reverse, probably his wife Irene and John Palæologus the regent during his absence, or perhaps his own son John VII., see SABATIER, II., 276; Plate lxiii. "Carmanoli," in BOUCAUT, 269 (Vol. I., p. 158), is the western equivalent of *Κυρ Μανουηλ*.—ACAD. DES INSCR., XIX., 85. ⁴ ACAD. DES INSCR., XIX. (1853), II., 108; DELAVILLE LE ROULX, I., 382; MIGNE, PATROL., 156; EGGER, I., 102. For permission to him to distribute indulgences in Paris, April 16th and May 8th, 1409, see ORDONNANCES, IX., 427, 433, 435; ACAD. DES INSCR., XIX., 152. For his visit to Pavia in 1400, at the request of the Duke of Milan, see HODY, 15. J. MEYER, 215, attributes the visit to Divine Providence, and sees evidence of the same in the subsequent invention of printing, that the fruits of his labour might not be lost, owing to the idleness of men or the jealousy of the Devil. Chrysoloras died at Constance in 1415. For portrait of him, see WEISSER, BILDER-ATLAS, 100, 16. For accounts of him, see PLATINA, 336; SOZZOMEN, 1168; PETRI, SUFFRIDUS, 72; SYMONDS, II., 112; MULLINGER, I., 391.

perlatives in praise of his host. He pronounced him the smartest in dress and the wittiest in wiles,¹ who outdid all in strength and by his good sense made many friends, giving his hand to all, and making himself of use in all sorts of ways to all who needed help. His manner was simply charming, and he seemed to be the one man of all the company who blushed at not doing enough for his guests—a splendid man, good at the start, good at the finish, and getting better every day.²

In the winter of 1401, Abbot Heyworth and a deputation of the monks of St. Alban's were received by him at Hertford "most kindly,"³ though he had been deeply offended with them for refusing to elect his nominee to the vacant Abbacy; and in 1409⁴ the German envoys were struck with his gracious manner, even when his sickness was at its worst. With winning ways and good looks,⁵ inherited from his mother and grandmother, of whom Froissart⁶ says that

¹ Cf. The wittiest and wyldest and worthiest in Armes.—CROWNED KING, 81, in P. PLO., p. 527. ² οὕτω μεγαλόψυχος ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ εἶδεῖ συστεῖλαι τὸν λόγον τηροῦντας νόμον ἐπιστολῶν, ἀγαθὸς μὲν οὗτος ἐν προοιμίῳ ἀγαθὸς δὲ καὶ τὸν δρόμον ἀνῶν καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν κρείττων γινόμενος καὶ φιλοεικῶν αὐτοῦ καθῶσαν κρατεῖν ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ἡμᾶς πολὺ τοι γενναϊότερος περὶ το τέλος ἐφάνη προσθεῖς καὶ κορωνίδα τοῖς πράγμασιν ἑαντῷ καὶ τούτοις ἐφάμιλλον παρέχει. For the unpublished portions of the PARIS MS. GRÈC, 3041, ff. 22, 23, I am indebted to the kindness of M. H. Omont, of the Bibliothèque Nationale. ³ Benignissimè.—GEST. ABB., 475, 491. ⁴ Vol. IV., p. 12.

⁵ Multis formosior olim

Vultus pictura pluribus alma fuit.

—ELMHAM, in POL. SONGS, II., 121.

Cf. HARD., 370. "Beau chevalier et jeune" (*i. e.*, in 1387).—FROIS., III., 100. ⁶ FROIS., XI., 325; XXII., 35; TYLER, I., 3; M. A. E. GREEN, III., 304. For his mother, cf. "Of al goodnesse she had no mete."—CHAUC. (S.), I., 293.

She had so stedfast countenaunce
So noble port and mayntenaunce.—*Ibid.*, 305.
I sawe her daunce so comlily,
Carole and singe so swetely,
Laughe and playe so womanly,

two more delightful women he never met, it is no marvel that Henry captured all hearts; and with "soverayne" for his motto it took little to whet his ambition into act.

Born in the line of England's kings, both on his father's and his mother's¹ side, he was betrothed to Mary de Bohun,² one of the richest heiresses in England, before he was fifteen years of age;³ and though every effort had been made by her elder⁴ sister Eleanor,⁵ at Pleshy, to

And loke so debonairly,
So goodly speke and so frendly.—CHAUC. (S.), I., 306.
Right faire shuldres and body long
She hadde, and armes every lith
Fattish, fleshy not greet therwith,
Right whyte handes and nayles rede,
Rounde brestes, and of good brede
Hir hippes were, a streight flat bak.—*Ibid.*, 309.

Add Vol. III., p. 331, note 9.

¹ CAPGRAVE (DE ILLUSTR. HENR., 98) is, of course, wrong in calling her a daughter of the King of Castile. She was a great-great-granddaughter of Henry III.

Henrico regi terno sextus reperitur,
Tam patre quam matre pura propago patet.

—ELMHAM, in POL. SONGS, II., 123.

Cf. BLORE, HY. IV., p. 2; MS., RAWL., LXXIX., B. FOL. 243; SCOTICHRON., II., 427; WYNT., III., 73; PLUSCARD., I., 336. This claim is fully set out in the tract DE TITULO EDWARDI COMITIS MARCHIÆ, Ch. XIV. (FORTESCUE, I., 74*), written against the claim of Edward IV., by the Lancastrian, Sir John Fortescue, while an exile in Scotland. Fortescue drops all claim from the mother's side, in order to be consistent with his argument, and assumes that Henry was the nearest male heir by his father's side, neglecting Philippa and her line. ² For her father's will, dated at Pleshy, Dec. 12th, 1372, proved May 16th, 1373, see GIBBONS, 34. He died Jan. 26th, 1373 (DOYLE, II., 165), and was buried in the Abbey Church at Saffron Walden, where his wife Joan built the bell-tower. She died April 7th, 1419, and was buried at the feet of her husband.—MONAST., VI., 140; DUGD., I., 187. ³ *I.e.*, before March 6th, 1381.—TYLER, I., 8. The patent is dated July 27th, 1380.—SANDFORD, 266; BELTZ, 238; RAMSAY, I., 158; DERBY ACCTS., LXXXI. ⁴ MALVERN, in HIGDEN, IX., 97. ⁵ See Vol. I., p. 103, note 5. The statement given without reference in SANDFORD, 232, that since her husband's death in 1397 she lived as a nun at Barking (not Bermondsey as HOLT, LANGLEY 126) seems to be a mistake, for she dates her will on Aug. 9th, 1379, "en mon chastell de Plessey" (spelt "Plecý" in DEP. KEEP., 45th REPT. 14 or

check¹ the match and get Mary away to a nunnery,² the young couple were actually married at Rochford,³ in Essex, in the winter of 1380. Mary was then scarcely eleven years old, and it was arranged that she should remain under her mother's charge until she was fourteen,⁴ which was the recognised age⁵ for young girls

"Plasshe" in *DUC. LANC. REC.*, xxviii., 1, 4, APP. A.), leaving legacies to the Abbess and Convent of Minorese Sisters near the "porte de Algate" (for account of this Abbey see *ARCHÆOLOGIA*, xv., 92) where her youngest daughter Isabel was a professed nun. She names her two other daughters, Ann and Joan, and her son Humphrey's departure for Ireland. Among her books are *A CHRONICLE OF FRANCE*, GILES DE REGIMINE PRINCIPUM (see Vol. III., p. 333, note 3); *A BOOK OF VICES AND VIRTUES*, a *RIMÉE HISTORIE DE CHIVALER À CIGNE*, all in French; a *BIBLE* in French; two vols. of *DECRETALS*, *UN LIVRE DE MEISTRE HISTOIRES, DE VITIS PATRUM*, and the *PASTORALS OF ST. GREGORY*.—*WILLS OF KINGS*, 177-185; *TEST. VET.*, xxix., 146; *GENEALOGIST*, vi., 27, from *REG. ARUNDEL*, P., i., 163a; *GOUGH, PLESHY, APP.*, p. 169; *DUGD.*, II., 172; *FROIS.*, xxi., 414; *BECKER*, 295; *EDWARDS*, I., 385; *GOTTLIEB*, 405; *TYLER*, I., 49. Her monument at Westminster may be only a widow's dress.—*NEALE*, II., 162; *DART*, 124; *GOUGH*, I., 159; *PLESHY, APP.*, p. 148; *KNIGHT*, II., 232; *HOLT, LANGLEY*, 267. Cf. Do wey your barbe and shew your face bare.—*CHAUC. (S.)*, II., 192, 468. For her executrix, Sybil Beauchamp, see *WILLS OF KINGS*, 184; *HOLT*, 221; *ISS. ROLL*, 7 H. IV., *MICH.*, Dec. 3rd, 1405.

¹ *FROIS. (JOHNES)*, II., 402; *M. A. E. GREEN*, III., 305. ² Many gentilmannis sonnys and doutres ben made religious azenet here wille, whanne thei ben childre withouten discrecion, for to have the heritage holly to o child that is most lovyd. And when thei come to age, what for drede of here frendis, and what for drede of povert in cas that thei gon out, and for drede of takyng of here bodi to prison, thei doren not scheve here herte ne leven this stat, thouz thei knowen hemself unable therto.—*WYCL.*, A., III., 190. ³ *N. AND Q.*, 7th SER., VI., 73; *TYLER*, I., 8; *HOLT*, 23, 31; do. *LANGLEY*, 331, says 1380, quoting *JOHN OF GAUNT'S REGISTER*, II., 48 b. ⁴ *RYM.*, VII., 343. In *DUC. LANC. REC.*, XI., 14, 56, 58 (*JOHN OF GAUNT'S REGISTER*), dated Feb. 1st, 1382, Dame Johanne Boun is to have 100 marks p.a., pour les gardes et coustages de nostre tres chère fille en ley Marie Contesse de Derby, from Feb. 5th, 1382 (5 R. II.), till the said Mary shall be 14 years complete. ⁵ *DUC. LANC. REC.*, XI., 14, 73.

This maid of age twelf yere was and tway,
In which that nature hadde swiche delit.

—*CHAUC.*, DOCTOR, 11964.

In *YEAR BOOK*, 2 H. IV., PASCH., 18 b, "ad annos nubiles," means 12 years of age. For early age of marriage for girls, see *TYLER*, I., 350; *DENTON*, 261; *DESCHAMPS*, VI., 240; *HOLT*, 22. In *STAFF. REG.*, 327, is a reference to an enquiry held in 1397, showing that William Scos

to be "brought to their spousage";¹ but when a year had elapsed, and Henry was just sixteen years old, and Mary only twelve,² she bore him a son,³ who seems to have died shortly after at

was less than eight years old when he was married to his wife Rose, in the Church of Ugborough, near Modbury, and that they lived together till he was 13, when he died. For marriage of girls of nine, see EARWAKER, I., 53. Philip of Mézières condemns French lords for marrying (*i.e.*, betrothing) their children at the age of three or four.—ACAD. DES INSCR., XVII., 507. For selling children to be married, see PASTON LETTERS, I., CXIV.; HOLT, 23.

Cf. When Venim medleth with the sucre,

And mariage is made for lucre.—GOWER, CONF., 250.

For marriage for brocage, see P. PLO., XI., 256; XVII., 109.

Thei giveth here children

For covetise of catel and connyng chapmen,
Of kyn ne of kynredene acounteth men bote lytel.

Cf. Summe myzty men marien here children where that here herte consentith not wilfully, but faynen for drede.—WYCL. (A.), III., 191.

For investives against early marriages, see Vol. II., p. 439.

Cf. Amonge the riche also is an usage

Ecche of hem her childe unto other wedde,
Though they be al to yonge and tendir of age,
No wher ny ripe to go to bedde.

Alle out of sesoun

They knyt ben that into wedlock to stert,
This maketh hem a couple for to smert,
Then is to hem a helle for marriage,
That they desiren for to ben unknytte.

—HOCCL., DE REG., 59.

Alas! what wonder is it though she wept,
That shal be sent to straunge nation
Fro frendes that so tendrely hire kept,
And to be bounde under subjection
Of on she knoweth not his condition.

—CHAUC., MAN OF LAW, 4687.

¹ COV. MYST., 4, 90; MONAST., VI., 1535; ROT. PARL., III., 637.

² Vol. III., p. 325. On Maundy Thursday, March 26th, 1388, she gave gowns and hoods to 18 poor women, the inference being that she was then 18 years of age (HOLT, 43, 81), so that she would have been born in 1370. This seems confirmed by the fact, that in 1395, on the first anniversary of her death, Henry gave gowns to 24 poor women, showing that she was 24 years old when she died on July 4th, 1394.—Vol. III., p. 236, note 5; RAMSAY, I., 158. Her daughter Blanche was married before she was 11 years old, and had a baby when she was 12; and Philippa was only 12 when she was married to King Eric at Lund.—Vol. II., p. 451. ³ Vol. III., p. 325, note 1. This shows that STRICKLAND (I., 467) is wrong in placing the marriage in 1384; also TYLER (I.,

Rochford, as soon as they had appointed a nurse and governess for him.

I quote this fact as evidence of the strong passion that lay beneath Henry's charming manners and tall,¹ delicate, knightly form. Yet he was prudent² enough to master himself and live clean;³ and though his father had killed himself with excess,⁴ and his sister's name was blown upon at court,⁵ and his wife, Joan, was charged with incontinence⁶ soon after his death, there is no hint of unfaithfulness⁷ breathed against Henry of Bolingbroke during his earlier or his later married life, in which respect he stands distinguished in the midst of a lecherous and depraved generation.⁸

p. xiii.), who gives 1386. RYM., VII., 343, proves that she was married before Feb. 6th, 1382, though on that date she was still staying with her mother.

¹ Miles fuerat procerrimus et quasi unus staturâ.—SCOTICHRON., II., 428. The statement that he was "of mean (*i.e.*, medium) stature," appears to be first found in HALLE, 32 b. GRAFTON, 442, who translates "homo staturâ honestâ et justâ membris gracilibus et animo magno fuit" (in POL. VERG., 438), by "of a mean stature, well proportioned, and formally compact, quick and deliverand, and of a stout courage."

² Lequel estoit dès lors quoyque jeune fuist de grant prudence.—FROIS., XV., 82. ³ WYCL (M.), 456; (A.) III., 191, 470. Cf. IYVEN chast.—*Ibid.*, I., 293, III., 192, 486. ⁴ Magnus enim fornicator fuit.—GASC., 137; (EDN. HEARNE), II., 530; A. WOOD, I., 193; EXCERPT. HIST., II., 152; TYLER, I., 5. MISS HOLT (LANGLEY, 132) thinks that he was "the best and last supporter of the Gospel." For account of him at 24 years of age, see CHAUC. (S.), I., 292. ⁵ Vol. II., p. 331. ⁶ With a Doctor of Divinity.—HARL. MS., 293, 66 (91), copied "ex libro MS.," Feb. 13th, 1592.

⁷ Exemplar morumque probatior ille proborum
Purus ad omne latus sic exulat immaculatus.

—GOWER, in POL. SONGS, I., 419, 440, 441.

⁸ Alas! this likerous dampnable errour (*i.e.*, adultery),
In this land hath so large a threde ysponne,
That wers peple is there non undir the sonne.

—HOCCL., DE REG., 64.

For to fynde many such (*i.e.*, chaste women in England) fulle uncouth is.—*Ibid.*, 135. Cf. DENTON, 25; A. W. WARD, 27.

But though that Holy Chirche it bidde

His home life was brightened by his love for music;¹ and knowing that a lewd king was nothing but a crowned ass,² he had his sons well booked³ in the best learning of the age.⁴ Henry, the eldest, was afterwards known as a learned King,⁵ whose "corage never did appall to study in books of antiquity";⁶ the youngest, Humphrey, went to Oxford⁷ and became an enlightened book-collector;⁸ while John's name will ever be remembered as the purchaser⁹ of the great library which had been gathered at enormous cost by Charles V. and VI. in the

So to restreigne mariage (*i.e.*, within degrees),
There ben yet upon Love's rage
Ful many of suché now a day,
That taken where they take may.—GOWER, CONF., 409.

For dispensations super defectu natalium, see TEST. VET., I., 10; STAFF. REG., *passim*. This weiward dalliaunce with wymmen is so comyn that unnethe can ony man kepe hym clene, or sengle, or weddid, or men of ordre of religion.—WYCL. (M.), 218. Gentilmen and hor wifes both ben smyttid with lechorie, as if thei holde hit but a gamen one to lye by others wif.—WYCL. (A.), III., 164. For "lecherous," see GOWER, CONF., 233; or "likerous."—WYCL. (M.), 61, 102, 169, 217. As hote he was and likerous as a sparwe.—CHAUC., PROL., 628.

¹ Vol. III., p. 325. In musicâ micans.—ARCHÆOLOGIA, XX., 61, from MS. CHRON. OF KENILWORTH. ² Quid enim est Rex indoctus nisi asinus coronatus?—CLAMENGES, EP., 348. Roy sanz lettre est comme asne couronné.—DESCHAMPS, VI., 255.

Cf. Roy sanz lettre est comme un asne servit,

S'il ne scavoit l'escriture ou les loys,
Chascun de ly par tout se moqueroit,
Thiès (*i.e.*, German, cf. "thioys."—*Ibid.*, VII., 61) doivent savoir latin, francois, etc.—*Ibid.*, v., 255.

Lere lettreure in thy youthe as a lord befallth.—CROWNED KING, 113, in P. PLO., p. 528. An unwise king is an ape in the roof of the halle.—WYCL. (A.), II., 396. For rex sine sapientiâ, see LYDGATE, TEMPLE OF GLAS, 68. ³ GOWER, CONF., 423. ⁴ MONSTR., II., 327. ⁵ Eruditum latinæque linguæ peritum.—CLEMANGES, EPIST., 348, 350. ⁶ Vol. III., p. 332. MERRYWEATHER, 190, quoting LYDGATE, TRAGEDIES OF JOHN BOCHAS, 38 b; MORLEY, VI., 113. ⁷ He is said to have been a member of Balliol Hall.—A. CLARK, 35; quoting LELAND, 460; BALE, VIII., 2; also FOSS, IV., 287. ⁸ TIT. LIV., 2. Bibliophile éclairé.—DELISLE, I., 52. ⁹ He paid £2323 for 843 books.—DELISLE, I., 53; III., 114-170; FRANKLIN, BIBL. DU ROY, 49. DOUET D'ARCO, L'INVENTAIRE DE LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE DU ROY CHARLES VI, EN 1423.

Louvre at Paris.¹ Gower,² Chaucer,³ and Hoccleve⁴ were all King Henry's pensioners, and wore his livery,⁵ and he tried to tempt over Christine de Pisan,⁶ that "handmaid of know-

¹ It contained 1239 volumes, which were chained to desks or shelves of Irish oak, and filled three rooms in one of the towers. FRANKLIN, II., 107-218; do. BIBL. DU ROY, 15; DELISLE, I., 20, who disposes of the story that it was lighted all night. For Catalogues of Giles Malet, made in 1373 and 1409, see BARROIS, 49; PRAET, I-149; DELISLE, I., 21, 27-31; BECKER, 293; GOTTLIEB, 129; FRANKLIN, 18. For Malet's tombstone, a coloured incised slab found in the church of Soisy-sous-Etoiles, near Corbeil, in 1854, and portraits of himself and his wife in a window at Bonport, near Pont de l'Arche, see MAGASIN PITTORESQUE, 1861, pp. 170, 236; FRANKLIN, BIBL. DU ROY, 39. ² Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{4}{8}$, APP. B. Cf. "I, Gower which am al thi liege man."—POL. SONGS, II., 15.

I sende unto min owne lorde,

Which of Lancastre is Henry named.—GOWER, CONF., 34.

Cf. Vostre oratour et vostre humble vassal,

Vostre Gower q'est trèstout vos soubgitz,

Car en vous soul apres le Dieu aie

Gist mon confort sascun me grieveroit.—GOWER, BALLADS.

He went blind in Sep., 1400.

Cf. Henrici quarti primus regni fuit annus,

Quo michi defecit visus ad acta mea.

—POL. SONGS, II., 15; GOWER, BALLADS; not merely "a tradition," as A. W. WARD, 112. For his monument in St. Saviour's Church, Southwark, see BLORE; BOUTELL, BRASSES; ARCHÆOL. CANT., I., 82; RETROSPECTIVE REV., 2ND SER., II., 506. For his will, proved Oct. 24th, 1408, see ARCHÆOL. CANT., VI., 83-107; GOUGH, III., 24; TODD, XII. For his portrait, see Vol. IV., p. 119, note 2. Caxton's mistake in supposing him to be a "Welsh bard in Glamorganshire," is still repeated in APPELYARD, 51. ³ For Chaucer in the household of John of Gaunt in 1379, see DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 14, 17. In 1395, he received three ells of scarlet, cum furr' de Jonettes from Henry as Earl of Derby, the fur alone costing £8 8s. 4d. (*i.e.*, 101 Jonettes at 2od. each).—*Ibid.*, XXVIII., I, 4, APP. A.; DEP. KEEP., 30TH REPT., p. 36. For date of Chaucer's birth, see ACAD., 12/2/87, p. 113, and 8/12/88, p. 371. ⁴ Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{4}{8}$, APP. B. "He is my good gracious lord."—HOCCLVE, in TYLER, I., 401.

My liege lord, the kynge that is now (1410),

I finde to me gracious ynowe,

God yild him! He hath for my large service

Guerdoned me in convenable wise.—HOCCL., DE REG., 30.

⁵ For cap and gown, see YEAR BOOK, II H. IV., 65 a. For wages in his household when Earl of Derby, see HOLT, 155. For livery panni stragulati in household of Bishop of Hereford, see WEBB, XXXVI., 112.

⁶ For account of her, see NYS, in REVUE DE DROIT INTERNATIONAL,

ledge," and "child of study."¹ Her son was in the suite of the Earl of Salisbury, and Henry kept him in England for three years after his patron's death² in the hope that his distinguished mother would come over and settle here too; but in this he was disappointed, and the little³ woman with the manly heart⁴ remained in her own land to ring out her tiny bell⁵ with a big voice for the rights of her sex, the peace of her country, and the trampling down of the devilish, reeking herd of mean⁶ folks in Paris, who were only happy when they were murdering and massacring, or robbing coffers and staving the rich man's wine.⁷

XIV., 456; A. THOMAS, 79; ARCHÆOLOGIA, XXII., 401; BLAYDES, II., 48; THOMASSY; MACMILLAN'S MAGAZINE, Feb., 1883. For picture of her presenting her book (*i.e.*, the *Roman d'Othéa et d'Hector*, afterwards printed as *Cent histoires de Troye*.—THOMASSY, 103) to Duke Louis of Orleans, from MS. 7089, see BOIVIN, 128; LEROUX DE LINCY, 418; also from BRUSSELS MS., 11034, in PISAN, II., p. xiii. For picture of her composing, from MS., 7217, BIBL. NAT., see LEROUX DE LINCY, 427; LACROIX, 54; also presenting book to Queen Isabel, from HARL. MS., 6431, see SHAW, DRESSES, Vol. II.; PLANCHÉ, II., 127. For ballads addressed by her to Queen Isabel and the Duke of Orleans, see PISAN, I., 219, 227, 228, 248, etc. T. F. DIBDEN, BIBLIOGRAPHER'S DECAMERON, 134; ILLUMINATOR'S MAGAZINE, 1862, Nos. 8 and 9. Cf. *Damoiselle Christine de Pisan qui dictoit toutes manières de doctrines et divers traitiés en Latin et en Français*.—METZ, in LEROUX DE LINCY, 234, 391.

Car je te voy com Boece a Pavie
Seule en tes faiz ou royaume de France.

—DESCHAMPS, VI., 252.

Her *Letter to Cupid* (written in 1399) was translated by Hoccleve in 1402.—HOCCL., MIN. PO., XI.; Vol. II., p. 24, note 7.

¹ "Ancelle de science."—PISAN, II., 301. "Fille d'étude."—THOMASSY, XI. ² PISAN, I., 233. ³ "Femme ygnorant de petite estature."—THOMASSY, 104. "Moy la mendre des femmes," "Moy femme ignorant non savable."—PISAN, I., 201, 226. ⁴ "Insignis fœmina," "virillis fœmina," "virago."—GERSON, in THOMASSY, LXXXII. ⁵ "Petite clochette grant sonne voix."—MASSON, 239. ⁶ For the "mean people and small folk" see HIST. MSS., 11th REPT., APP. III., xv., 191, 240; P. PLO., IV., 81; XII., 149. Cf. "les peuples menus," "le petit peuple."—BONET, APPARITION, 9. "Des grans et des menus."—GESTE, 418. "Menue gent."—TRAHISONS DE FRANCE, 94. ⁷ Cette diabolique assemblée de innombrable menue gent fumant l'un l'autre comme brebis

The poets hailed his accession as the advent of a new Augustus,¹ who should mend all harm² and rule in peace till he should be taken to dwell among the saints in everlasting glory;³ and the crowd at Doncaster had shouted: "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord!"⁴ Many scholars who were privileged to enjoy his conversation bore witness to his large mind and retentive memory.⁵ When leisure allowed, he spent a good part of his day unravelling problems and demands⁶ in morals, and in theology his judgment was much esteemed. He spent a fortnight at Prague in 1392,⁷ and doubtless formed his own conclusions as to the tendency of the "bad and curious"⁸ doctrine germinating there. Seven years later, when an exile, he closely watched the teachings of the University in Paris, and gave it as his opinion in talking with Duke Philip of Burgundy,⁹ that though they had clerks in England more subtle in many imaginings, yet those of Paris had the true and sound theology; and his dictum was often afterwards repeated as if it had a special value. He chose his

prets et appareillés de tous maux faire. . . Adonc sont si aises quant ils tuent et massacrent gens, rompent coffres, roben tout, enfoncent vins à ces riches gens. (Cf. "Destruis les biens et gourmendez les vins."—DESCHAMPS, III., 140.) She thinks they are not fit for any offices or prerogatives in cities or towns—les quelles choses sont pertinens aux bourgeois notables et d'anciennes lignées, etc.—THOMASSY, LXXIII.

¹ Nuper ut Augusti fuerant tibi præmia Romæ,
Concinet in gestis Anglia læta tuis.

—POL. SONGS, II., 2.

² CHAUC. (S.), I., 406. ³ POL. SONGS, II., II, 14. ⁴ ANGL. SACR., II., 363.
⁵ CAPGR., DE ILLUSTR. HENR., 108; though RAMSAY (I. 142) thinks that he was "without any distinguishable feeling for literature or art."
⁶ GOWER, CONF., 90, 427. ⁷ *Viz.*, Oct. 13th to 26th.—PAULI, RECHNUNGSBUCH, I4, 349; DERBY ACCTS., LVI., LVII., 310; DICT. NAT. BIOG., XXVI., 33. In 1395 a clerk from Prague brought a bow as a present from a knight of the orthodox house of Bergow.—DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 3, 5 c., APP. A. ⁸ Male—theologie et curiose.—GERSON, II., 149; GALITZIN, 44. ⁹ Gerson often heard the Duke repeat the words.—GALITZIN, 44; GERSON, II., 149.

confessors on account of their high reputation for learning.¹ He spoke French² fluently, and could understand Latin³ and Spanish; and the few specimens of his handwriting that we still possess prove that he was no mean penman.⁴ When he paid a flying visit to Bardney⁵ he passed his morning amongst the books, and Oxford named him first upon the list of special benefactors to her Common Library.⁶ In the early days of artillery he had himself designed a huge gun, weighing four and a half tons of copper.⁷ Following the good rule that "He nothing knows who ne'er out goes,"⁸ he journeyed through Europe and sailed to Jerusalem,⁹ made the acquaintance of the High Master of the German Knights at Marienburg,¹⁰ of Wenzel at Prague,¹¹ of Duke Leopold III. of Austria and King Sigismund at Vienna,¹² of the Doge Antonio Vernieri at Venice,¹³ of Duke Gian Galeazzo at Milan,¹⁴ and King Charles VI. in Paris, and everywhere had borne himself as an accomplished gentle-

¹ *E.g.*, Mascal—propter eruditionem non vulgarem.—BALE, 539; and Repington, Vol. III., p. 349, note 3. For other confessors see Vol. IV., p. 266, note 10. ² Vol. II., p. 388. ³ Vol. II., p. 441. I can find no evidence that he "understood Italian," as supposed by HOLT, 52. ⁴ See APP. CC. ⁵ Vol. II., p. 460. ⁶ MUN., ACAD., 266; Vol. III., p. 445. ⁷ DEVON, 308; Vol. II., p. 267; Vol. III., p. 112. ⁸ Il ne scet rien qui ne va hors.—DESCHAMPS, VII., 69. ⁹ Vol. IV., p. 107. ¹⁰ Vol. IV., pp. 7, 127; PRUTZ, LXX., 66; DERBY ACCTS., 71. ¹¹ He spent from Oct. 21st-24th, 1392 with him at his hunting-seat at Bettlern.—Vol. IV., p. 107; PRUTZ, LXXXVII; DERBY ACCTS., LXXIII., 191, 310. ¹² Vol. III., p. 402. ¹³ Vol. I., p. 86; PRUTZ, xc.; DERBY ACCTS., LX.; Vernieri died Nov. 23rd, 1400, after 18 years of office, and was succeeded by Michael Steno.—DELAYTO, 960; BEMBO, 515; BOUCICAUT, 285; FOGLIETA, 526; RYM., VIII., 595, 655; MART., COLL., VII., 886; CHMEL, 22, 30, 59. He is called Sten in BRANDO, 96. For letter from Hy. IV. to him in 1409, see Vol. III., p. 255, note 7. ¹⁴ Vol. III., p. 385; Vol. IV., p. 128. When preparing for the lists at Coventry in 1398, he sent to Milan for a suit of armour.—FROIS., XVI., 95; WENCK, 18, who thinks that he may have then negotiated for the hand of Lucy, d. of Bernabo Visconti, who afterwards married the E. of Kent.—Vol. II., p. 40. He supposes (p. 19) that Lucy made a deep impression on him when he visited Milan in May, 1393, but this is only guessing, for his wife did not die till July 4th, 1394.

man. In proud London¹ and its suburbs, where he had hostels, gardens, and wardrobes in Fleet St.,² Coleman St.,³ Bishopsgate,⁴ Leadenhall,⁵ and Aldermanbury, he was specially beloved. He was enrolled a brother of the Fraternity of Corpus Christi founded by the Skinners of London,⁶ of the Gild of Christ Church in Canterbury,⁷ and of the Trinity Gild at Coventry;⁸ and when the citizens of the large towns, as well as the great landlords, began to tremble for their property in the days of King Richard's misrule,⁹ their hearts turned readily towards the rich young duke "whom all the land loved,"¹⁰ and the seizure of whose possessions¹¹ was to be but a prelude¹² to the robbery that each man saw impending over himself and his gains.

Henry was regarded by critics abroad as a cool, keen, calculating man,¹³ sour and shrewd towards his

¹ HENRY IV., Part II., I, 3, 104; FROIS., XVI., 99, III, 138, 158; BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 87, 129. ² DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 3, 6, APP. A. ³ *Ibid.*, 3, 3, APP. A. ⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 5, APP. A.; M. A. E. GREEN, III., 310; possibly the "Orwell House" of DERBY ACCTS., LXXXV., 35, 301. ⁵ DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., I, 5, APP. A. ⁶ LOND. AND MIDLX. ARCHÆOL. Soc., v., 107. For Edward III. and Richard II., see BESANT, WHITTINGTON, 71. ⁷ Nov., 25th, 1400.—HOLT, LANGLEY, 334. ⁸ Vol. III., p. 207. ⁹ RICH. REDELES, PROL., 22, 32. For Chaucer's warning to Richard II., see CHAUC. (S.), I., 394. ¹⁰ RICH. REDELES, PROL., 12. ¹¹ To the list of castles given in Vol. I., p. 6, note 5 (see CORRIGENDA), add Brecknock (ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 174, 279; PAT., 7 H. IV., I, 36;) Donington and Higham Ferrers (Vol. III., p. 135, note 4; PAT., 10 H. IV., 2, 26, d.), and see DEP. KEEP., 45TH REPT., 1885. The whole yield in the year ending Feb. 2nd, 1400, was £4770 4s. 8d., and in the following year £2643 5s. 8½d.—RAMSAY, in ANTIQUARY, VI., 101.

¹² R. proceres odit et eorum prædia rodit,

H. fovet hæredesque suas restaurat in ædes.

—POL. SONGS, I., 453.

"A sort of saviour of society."—A. W. WARD, 17. ¹³ "Sage et ymaginatif."—WAUR., 108. Cf. The character of Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. Il estoit sage, froid, et imaginatif.—FROIS., IX., 128; LETTENHOVE, HIST. DE FLANDRE, III., 6. For "ware and wise," see Vol. I., p. 325; CHAUC. (S.), I., 146; PROL., 311; WYCL. (A.), I., 351; II., 302; WYNT., III., 102, 110, 113; MYROÛRE, 226; HOCCL., DE REG.,

enemies,¹ but taking good care to advance his friends. Gower depicts him as full of knighthood and all grace,² a lion to the reprobate but a lamb to the gentle;³ and Hoccleve, as a king with a merciful heart, though he oft had great cause for vengeance.⁴ This is in accordance with Archbishop Arundel's estimate that he was humane and forgiving to his enemies;⁵ and when the heads of many rebels fell at Oxford⁶ on the failure of the first rising, he spared John Ferroux,⁷ who had saved his life in the days of Wat the Tiler some twenty years before. At times the passionate fierceness of his nature broke out, and the French envoy, who would not kneel to him as King at Windsor in 1400, had good reason to report that his manners were "proud and lofty;"⁸ but his

76; GOWER, CONF., 103, 415; AUNGIER, 270. "Wisliche et warliche."—ST. KATHERINE, 82. For "imaginatif," see P. PLO., xv. (*passim*). Cf. "subtils et moult imaginatis."—FROIS., v., 155.

¹ Aigre et subtil contre ses ennemis.—MONSTR., II., 337. ² GOWER, CONF., 34. ³ POL. SONGS, I., 449.

⁴ Our liege lorde your fader (*i.e.*, Henry IV.) dothe the same (*i.e.*, mercy) Now folowe hem two (*i.e.*, Henry IV., and John of Gaunt) my lorde (*i.e.*, Prince Henry) in Goddes name.

They ofte hade grete cause hem to venge,

But her spirites benygne and pesible

Thought that craft (*i.e.*, vengeance) unlusty and alenge

And forbare it. They knewe it unlesible.

To mercy were her hertes ay flexible.

For why withe mercy God shalle quyte hem welle

After the wordes written in the gospelle.

It is to leeve and deeme yf a king shyne

In vertue, that his sone shalle sue,

And to his faders maners enclyne,

And wikked tacches and vices eschue.

Thus ought it be, this to nature is due.

He mote considre of whom he toke his kynde,

And folowe his vertu as men writen fynde.—HOCCL., DE REG.

⁵ Vol. I., p. 76; II., p. 51; Vol. III., p. 116. RAINE (YORK, 81, 83) calls him a "cruel king," a "cold-blooded man." ⁶ Either in the castle (CHRON., GILES, 8; see Vol. I., p. 106); or in the Green Ditch outside the north gate.—A. WOOD, HIST., I., 201; BOASE, 96; BURROWS, BROCAS, 136. ⁷ For his pardon, dated Oxford Castle, Jan. 13th, 1400, see FROIS., XX., 85; TYLER, I., 7. ⁸ Fières et orgueilleuses.—FROIS., XVI., 373; APP. H.

rage was soon spent, and when the Frenchman stood his ground, the king asked him the next day to dinner.

Sir Peter Buckton,¹ the friend of Chaucer,² who accompanied Henry as his Steward on his journeys to Prussia and the Holy Land,³ managed his estates during his exile,⁴ helped him on his landing in Yorkshire,⁵ and went with the Lady Philippa to Denmark,⁶ became his most attached and intimate friend,⁷ and was made Constable of Knaresborough⁸ and afterwards Mayor of Bordeaux.⁹ His confidential Confessor, Repingdon,¹⁰ became Bishop of Lincoln and a Cardinal.

With his dying words he urged his son to do good to those who had been dear to him,¹¹ and the fortunes of the Stanleys,¹² Swinburns,¹³ Tiptots,¹⁴ Uffletes,¹⁵ Nor-

¹ He was a Yorkshireman (ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 157) from near Bridlington (CAL. ROT. CHART., 195), born in 1350 (SCROPE AND GROSV., I., 195; II., 466), and was one of the Knights of the Shire for Yorkshire, in the Parliament of 1404 (RETURN PARL., I., 267), see also RYM., VIII., 50 640; FOR. ACCTS., 12 H. IV., dated May, 1412 (*sic*). He went with the expedition into Scotland in Aug., 1400.—Q. R. ARMY, $\frac{3}{12}$, APP. G. In ISS. ROLL, 14 H. IV., MICH. (Nov. 3rd, 1412), he receives £100 p.a. as the King's Standard-bearer (*Vexillator*). ² CHAUC. (S.), I., 398; BELL, VIII., 147. ³ DERBY ACCTS., XLIII., LI., XCII., 300. ⁴ Receiving £20 p.a. and a grant of the Manor of Kilburn in Yorkshire.—DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, I, APP. A. ⁵ "On the est half," "in the est."—RICH. REDELES, PROL., II; III., 69. ⁶ Vol. II., p. 447; Q. R. WARDROBE, $\frac{3}{8}$, APP. F. ⁷ *Maxime familiaris domini regis prædilectus*.—T. BURTON, MELSA, III., 298. ⁸ Also Steward of the lordship and Master Forester of the Forest; for his appointment dated May 30th, 1400, see DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, 31, 32, 103; XXV., A., 20, Sep. 29th, 1408. ⁹ Vol. III., p. 99, note 3. ¹⁰ Vol. I., p. 199; III., p. 349. ¹¹ *Qui cari mihi sunt his bona ferre velis*.—POL. SONGS, II., 121. ¹² Vol. II., p. 289. ¹³ Vol. II., p. 55; III., p. 97. ¹⁴ Vol. II., p. 414; DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 3, 6, APP. A. On Mar. 5th, 1401, Payne Typtot (knight) is appointed surveyor and chief master of all the King's warrens in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridge.—*Ibid.*, XI., 15, 35. ¹⁵ Sir Gerard Ufflete from North Ferriby near Hull, joined the King in primo adventu in Angliam.—*Ibid.*, XXVIII., 4, 2, APP. A. For his will dated Sep. 5th, proved April 5th, 1405, see TEST. EBOR., I., 340; NOTES AND QUERIES, 5TH SER., 149, 255, 412. The name is derived from Ouseflete near Whitgift. For a list of 35 persons who attended on Henry in Parliament after his arrival in England,

burys,¹ Erpinghams,² Watertons,³ Gascoignes,⁴ Pelhams,⁵ Luttrells,⁶ Courts,⁷ Astons,⁸ Cheynes,⁹ Chicheles,¹⁰ Langleys,¹¹

including Gerard Uffete, Robert Neville, John Leventhorpe, John Curson, Richard Gascoigne, John Dabridgecourt, and Robert Waterton, see *DUC. LANC. REC.*, XI., 15, 70, 75.

¹ Vol. III., pp. 43, note 12; 161, note 3. ² Vol. III., p. 295, note 1. ³ For Sir Hugh Waterton, see Vol. II., p. 292; Vol. III., p. 159. For his cousin Robert Waterton, see Vol. I., p. 111. In 1390 and 1392, he went with Henry as his Master of the Horse to Prussia.—*HIRSCH*, II., 789; *DERBY ACCTS.*, XLVII., LII., XCII., 296. In 1395 he received four ellis of long sanguin from Henry, as Earl of Derby.—*DUC. LANC. REC.*, XXVIII., 1, 4; *DEP. KEEP.*, 30TH REPT. p. 36. In 1402-3, he was still Master of the Horse, see *L. T. R. ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCTS.*, XI., 15, APP. C. On Aug. 16th 1403, he was appointed Constable of Tickhill Castle, and Steward of the Honor.—*DUC. LANC. REC.*, XI., 15, 8, '13; *ibid.*, 16, 8⁰⁰, Nov. 30th, 1406; also *ibid.*, XXV., A. 20. On Aug. 6th, 1412, he received a grant of the fisheries of the Aire and Calder for 40 years.—*Ibid.*, XI., 16, 75'. For one of his accounts, as Master of the King's desters and big horses dated Aug. 7th, 1409, see *FOR. ACCTS.*, 12 H. IV. It runs from May 1st, 1408, to Sep. 29th, 1409, scheduling the palfreys, charioters, hackneys, bastards, etc., which fell to the king during this year. The animals include Lyard Tidman (a mortuary on the death of the Bishop of Worcester), Bayard Bangor (confiscated from Bishop Bifort), Lyard Moglyn (confiscated from a Scot), Sorrell Selby, Bayard Wymborne (on the death of the Abbots of those places), Lyard Fauconberg, Morell Totty (possibly Thomas Toty, a squire who accompanied Henry as Master of the Horse on his journeys in 1390, 1392.—*DERBY ACCTS.*, XCV., 324), etc. The account is rich in stable-lore and tells of standard-coffers, slings of Hungarian leather, laton harness, velvet saddles, poles, pasterns, skirts, loyns (*cf. lorein.*—*LIB. CUST.*, 78), traynells, stapulets, rests, broketts, currycombs (*PROMPT. PARV.*, 110; *CATHOL.*, 76. For horsecombs, see *DERBY ACCTS.*, 46, 175, 194, 238), fauscrops, overgriths, counter-girths, reinshooks, coffer-rings and all minutiae of mediæval horse-gear. For colours of horses, *e.g.*, griselle, albo-grey, iron-grey, rayon, bauson or piebald (*DUCANGE s.v. Baucons*; *SHARPE*, II., 7), see *Q.R. WARDROBE*, 2⁸, APP. B. For equum album vocatum Liard de Watton, see *GIBBONS*, ELY, 195; *HOLT, LANGLEY*, 108. *Cf.* "a thikke palfrey paper-whyt."—*CHAUC. (S.)*, III., 125. For equus sorellus, equus ballidus, see *PRUTZ*, LIII., 7; *DERBY ACCTS.*, 5. "Sorrel," *TEST. EBOR.*, I., 341; pro equo bayardo 100s. (1289); *WEBB*, LVII., 175, "a faire baye stede," *CHAUC. (S.)*, II., 390. "Bayarde Grenecobbe," *SHARPE*, II., 330. ⁴ Vol. II., pp. 182, 358. ⁵ Vol. II., p. 111; Vol. IV., p. 51. ⁶ Vol. II., p. 91, note 5. ⁷ Vol. II., p. 309; Vol. IV., p. 37. ⁸ Vol. II., p. 91, note 5. For letter written from him as "lieutenant de Calais," signed Calais, June 14th, 1407, see *COMPTE RENDU*, 3rd SER., III., 180, 181. ⁹ In *DUC. LANC. REC.*, XI., 13, pp. 65, 141, 142, John Cheyne is Treasurer of the Household to John of Gaunt. In 1375, he was parson of Hanbury in Needwood Forest.—*Ibid.*, 208. ¹⁰ Vol. III., p. 135. ¹¹ Vol. II., p. 344.

Bowets,¹ Bubwiths,² Merburys,³ Rempstons,⁴ Wakerings,⁵ Rochforts,⁶ Leches,⁷ and scores more can be traced to the days when they wore his livery as retainers in his household when Earl of Derby.

Notwithstanding his great wealth King Henry died poor, and his personal belongings were not sufficient to pay his debts.⁸ Besides granting pensions to many religious houses,⁹ both in England and Ireland,¹⁰ he was in the habit of paying an annual stipend to several anchorets¹¹ and

¹ Vol. II., p. 350. ² Vol. III., p. 128. In 1375, Henry de Bubwith was Feoder to John of Gaunt, and bailiff in Yorkshire.—DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 13, p. 64 a, and 14, p. 34 b. ³ For Lawrence Merbury, see Vol. II., p. 133. For Nicholas Merbury, see Vol. I., p. 293, note 9, where he receives £40 p. a. for life; also DEVON, 301; ISS. ROLL, 6 H. IV., MICH., Dec. 2nd, 1404; *ibid.*, 7 H. IV., MICH., Oct. 27th, 1405; 14 H. IV., MICH., Nov. 23rd, 1412; RYM., IX., 26, June 12th, 1413. In 1414, he is Master of the King's Ordnance.—RYM., IX., 159. In DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, 46, Mar., 5th, 1400, John Merbury is retained as a squire at 10 marks p. a. In 1405, he is sheriff of Herefordshire.—DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 4, 5, APP. A.; DUNCUMB, I., 142. There is a fine monument to him and his wife Agnes, widow of Sir Walter Devereux (d. 1402) on the south side of the chancel in Weobley Church. The figure of the lady has a large horned headdress. ⁴ For Sir Thomas Rempston, see Vol. II., p. 480. He accompanied Henry to Prussia as his standard-bearer in 1390.—DERBY ACCTS., XLIII., LXXXI., 106, 304. ⁵ Vol. III., p. 301, note 2. ⁶ Vol. II., pp. 56 n, 228. John Rochfort accompanied him in his journeys to Prussia (1390), and the Holy Land (1392), in the former of which he fell ill.—DERBY ACCTS., LI., 51, 303. ⁷ Vol. II., p. 229, note 8. ⁸ Vol. III., p. 235. ⁹ *E.g.* 50 marks each, p. a. to the Franciscans and Dominicans at Oxford, 25 marks p. a. to the Franciscans at Cambridge, £20 each p. a. to the Dominicans in London and the Prior of the Principal Chapter of the Dominicans in England, granted Oct. 17th, 1399.—ISS. ROLL, 9 H. IV., PASCH., April 25th, 1408; see also Vol. I., p. 271; RELIQUARY, Jan. 1885, p. 138. ¹⁰ For Dublin, Drogheda, Cork, Waterford and Limerick, see WARBURTON, I., 361. ¹¹ DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 19, 34, 34''' (Jan. 30th, 1406), grants hospital of Warnford near Bamborough, to Richard Hayzaund, hermit, also five timber oaks to Thurstan de Okenshaw (hermit), to repair the bridge at Warrington. For ankers and hermits, see Vol. II., p. 365 n. 13; P. PLO., PROL., 51; I., 30; X., 196; JUSSEURAND, 137; ENGL. GARNER, VI., 115, WYCL. (A.), I., 167; ANTIQUARY, XIX., 249. For hermit and recluse at Bordeaux, see JURADE, 156, 172; CORDONAN.—RYM., VIII., 592.

anchoresses¹ immured in churches in various parts of the country, though in this he was only continuing payments which had been made by his father before him. Some modern writers have represented him as "fervently orthodox,"² and it is commonly supposed that the burning of Sawtre and Badby was the result of a concordat³ with Archbishop Arundel, to whom he had delivered himself over, body and soul. It is true that Gower⁴ credits him specially with piety, and tells how, on landing on the naked shore at Ravenser,⁵ he stretched out his hands to Heaven, and kneeled and kissed the earth;⁶ that Capgrave⁷ notes his devout interest in the relics displayed in the Venice and Milan churches,⁸ and that the French believed that he was

¹ *E.g.* to Maud Wardesale, a recluse in St. Peter's at Leicester, six marks p. a., June 7th, 1400.—DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, 11. To an anchoress at Lynn, 1392, see DERBY ACCTS., 273. Cuidam reclusæ in capellâ S. Elenæ juxta castrum (Pontefract) ex antiqua elemosyna 30s. 2d.—DUC. LANC. REC., XXV., A., 20. For reclusæ at Kensington, Leintwardine (Hereford), and reference to the officium quod in hujus reclusionis fieri consuevit, see WEBB, CXCIX., 150, 153, 213. ² CREIGHTON, I., 305; Cf. "A fervent Papist."—HOLT, 37. ³ BURROWS, COMMENTARIES, 119, 203. For order to Sheriffs dated Sep. 20th, 1399, issued in Richard's name by assent of Archbishop Arundel and Henry as Duke of Lancaster, and renewed Oct. 1st, 1399, see Vol. I., 177; RYM., VIII., 87; R. H. MASON, I., 86. ⁴ POL. SONGS, I., 448, 452, 453. ⁵ For Ravenserspur, see T. BURTON, MELSA, III., 254, 299; ROT. PARL., IV., 364; POL. SONGS, I., 462; FROST, 54; or Ravenserodd, BOYLE, 10-41. Not "Raverspur," as LORD CAMPBELL, CH. JUST., I., 115, 123; or "Ravenscrosbourne," as misprinted in CAL. ROT. PAT., 238 b. For Richard de Ravenser, see ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 29, 53; MONASTICON, VI., 1307. One of those who sailed with Henry was William Burley from Calais.—FR. ROLL, 7 H. IV., 7, May 10th, 1406. For the number of the ships, see Vol. I., p. 20, adding, "cum paucis transit," "cum modicâ classe."—GOWER, in POL. SONGS, I., 442; "VIII. scilicet parvarum navium et duarum majorum quas *passagiers* vocant."—BRANDO, 55. POSILJE, 232, gives 26 ships well manned. In ANGLIA SACRA, II., 363, he starts "clam et secreta." According to LUSSAN, III., 340, he started from Vannes. ⁶ POL. SONGS, I., 442. ⁷ Pius et venerabilis.—CAPGR., DE ILLUSTR. HENR., 101. ⁸ DERBY ACCTS., LX., LXIII. At Venice they had a waterpot from Cana, one of the stones that hit Stephen, and one of Goliath's teeth, six inches long and weighing 12 lbs.—JUSSERAND, 379; ROEHRICHT, 16; ANGLURE, 3. For Henry's gift to churches in Prussia, see PRUTZ, LXXII.

superstitious.¹ But this is only a repetition of their estimate of the English character in general. When John XXIII. claimed all arrears of annates and first-fruits which the English Church had left unpaid before the Council met at Pisa,² King Henry answered that "we cannot, nor will not, allow the treasure of our kingdom to be carried to foreign parts, nor our subjects to be worried for by-gone debts";³ and his prompt execution of the hermit,⁴ the Friars⁵ and the Archbishop, his outspoken contempt for the fawning clerks and smiling pickthanks who hung about his court,⁶ and his braving of Innocent's excommunication⁷ are proofs that he put self-interest first, whenever it conflicted with the claims of religion. In Prague, where arguments were wanted for Wycliffe's doctrine of the Supremacy of the Civil Power, John Hus even lauded him for laying hands on the Church's wealth, for hanging rebellious monks and bringing an Archbishop to the block.⁸

The real characteristic of the man is his consuming energy.⁹ By his immediate English contemporaries the stain of Richard's blood¹⁰ was forgotten, and he stood out to them, whether as

¹ ST. DENYS, II., 732. ² Vol. III., p. 385. ³ Quoniam tolerare non possumus neque volumus regni nostri thesaurum variis viis et modis ante hæc tempora diminutum ad partes externas asportari nec subditos nostros tali modo vexari maxime pro debitis prædecessorum suorum.—ADD. MS., 24062, f. 148. ⁴ Vol. I., p. 368. He had seen in a vision a throne burning with hell-fire prepared with devils, waiting for Henry on his approaching death.—SCOTICHRON., II., 427. ⁵ Vol. I., p. 278. RUFUS notes the hanging of Grey Friars, and prays God for vengeance.—DETMAR, 231. The heads of 7 Grey Friars were sent to be fixed on walls and pillories at Coventry, Northampton, York, Nottingham, Stamford, Leicester, and Aylesbury till removed for burial on Nov. 10th, 1404.—CLAUS., 6 H. IV., 33. For the practice of cutting the throat after hanging, see STATE TRIALS, I., 119. ⁶ Vol. II., p. 352. ⁷ Vol. II., p. 346. ⁸ PALACKY, DOC., 172. ⁹ Strenuissimus comes Derbeia.—POL. SONGS, I., 419, 440. In armis strenuum.—CAPGR., DE ILLUSTR., 110. ¹⁰ DESCHAMPS (VI., 285), following his master the Duke of Orleans, charges Henry with Richard's death:—

knight,¹ earl,² duke³ or king, as a bold, fearless man, grand in mind, body, and estate.⁴ A modern writer⁵ has compared him and his son to Philip and Alexander of Macedon, implying that the politic and cautious father deliberately prepared the ground for the conquests of a fiery and impulsive son. But

Par toy Henry de Lencastre faulx homo
Faictes en lui contre les droiz royaulx
Prandre et occire.

Cf. "le fist Henri de Lencastre mourir."—COCHON, 200. Aucuns dient qu'il fut occis par conspiration des plus grants du pays et autres disoient qu'il estoit mort en prison.—CABARET, 268. Crudeliter immaniter et simul ignominiose mortuus.—MONTREUIL, 1324. On Sep. 24th, 1404, English envoys were commissioned to urge on Henry's behalf that he was in danger by being poursuivy par le roy Richard pour executer son arrest, and that en la poursuite il mourut.—REPT., on FÆD., APP. D., 74. The inscription on King Richard's tomb at Westminster, probably written during his lifetime, gives "per fatum victus."—NEALE AND BRAYLEY, II., 108. In Germany it was believed that he was strangled in prison a few days after his capture.—CORNER, 1181. In POSILJE, 232, Richard "entweich uf eyn hus und wart daruffe gefangen," afterwards dying in prison, "wie im geschach" (p. 234). In RUFUS (continuation of DETMAR) Richard "was ghedodet." In Spain it was thought that he had been publicly degraded and deprived of his crown, sceptre, orb, sword, throne, etc., as each charge was advanced against him.—GAMEZ, 265. For his supposed death by starvation (mortuus est fame), see BERMONDSEY, 482. For the case of Jean de Heyle, who lived for two months without food in a Flemish prison in 1390, see KERVYN, III., 41. King Richard's remains were thoroughly examined in 1871. The sutures of the skull were all perfect, but the jawbone had been stolen from the tomb by a Westminster boy in 1766, who poked his hand through one of the holes where the shields had been. It was once at Wouldham Rectory near Rochester (NOTES AND QUERIES, 25/4/85; ARCHÆOLOGIA, XLV., 311, 327; STANLEY, 144); and the present Rector (Rev. R. W. Taylor) assures me that it is now in the possession of one of the descendants of the Rev. Gerrard Andrewes, who died Dean of Canterbury, in 1825.

¹ TYLER, I., 38. ² He appears as Earl of Derby before the coronation of Richard II. in 1377.—RYM., VII., 160; DOYLE, I., 552; not 1386, as Vol. I., p. 4. ³ He was created Duke of Hereford, Sep. 29th, 1397.—DOYLE, I., 552. For his seal as Duke of Hereford, costing 36s. gd., see DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., I, 5, APP. A.

⁴ Audax intrepidus micuit miles, comes et dux,
Hinc rex magnificus robore, mente, statu.

—ELMHAM, in POL. SONGS, II., 123.

Cf. Vir magnificus; magnificus seculo.—CAPGR., DE ILLUSTR., 98.

⁵ LANDOR, I., 35.

if anything worthy the name of a policy can be traced in his aimless reign of thirteen years, it was thwarted by the toils of disaffection that everywhere beset his throne. He cannot be fairly charged with advancing to the Kingship by crooked by-paths,¹ for Richard had himself prepared his own downfall ; but in taking up the mandate offered him by the Parliament and people of England, Henry had struck a deadly blow at the principle of hereditary succession ; and even when the prize was won, " his skirts licked trouble, and became a weight to make the glory irksome."² He longed to raise the fame of England among the nations, and internal dissensions amongst the French and Scots seemed to give him the very opening that he desired. But as often as he left his back unarmed,³ and turned his steps to Scotland, France, or Wales, his plans were marred by traitors who forced him to fight for his own hand at home. Even when his strength was wearing to the bone, his friends at Bordeaux⁴ could always sting him into a spasm of action by the taunt that, if he did not come and help them, his name would be handed down as that of the King who had let slip Guienne, and lowered the name of England beyond the sea. We have no evidence of any wise counsellors on whom he could rely ; and we are led to infer that, as he headed his campaigns in person, so he directed the counsels of the country without reference to any will but his own.⁵

One effect of his strong personality in reviving the supremacy of the Crown is seen in the check that comes

¹ HENRY IV., PART II., 4, 5, 185. ² GEO. DANIEL, IV., 78. ³ HENRY IV., PART II., 1, 3, 79. ⁴ CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, LETTRES, II., 324, where the date should be 1407, not 1406. The writer was probably Archbishop Ugucione, see Vol. III., pp. 77, 364. ⁵ RAMSAY, I., 93.

abruptly on the rage for castle-building in England; for whereas in Richard's reign any hillside lord could get a grant to crenellate¹ his manor house or peel, in Henry's days the permit ceases, or is granted with a very sparing hand indeed. But in a struggle against a united Parliament, or a combined section of the nation, he found his strength in yielding. When the Parliament insisted that he should dismiss his confessor and other confidential attendants from his hostel, and all foreigners from about the person of the Queen, he bowed to the storm, although he knew "no special reason why they should be removed."² When the merchants insisted on taking over the command of the fleet,³ he let them try their hand, being certain, perhaps, as events proved, that they would find the task beyond their power; and when his strength had altogether failed, he consented to be divested⁴ of government, provided that a sufficient allowance was voted for his separate maintenance free from all outside control.

He plucked allegiance from men's hearts by promises of retrenchment and reform,⁵ but his rule was unthrifty,⁶ and he left the nation with its load of taxes heavier than he found it. He started with a firm administration of the law, but after

¹ For crenellations in Northumberland, see BATES, 8. For fortification of manor houses *temp.* ED. III., see GNEIST, *PARL.*, 204. For Raby and Sheriff Hutton, see SURTEES, IV., 151. For Wardour, near Shaftesbury, see HOARE, IV., 157. For Bolton in Wensleydale, see Vol. II., p. 193. ² *ROT. PARL.*, III., 525. ³ Vol. II., p. 416; *ROT. PARL.*, III., 569. ⁴ Vol. II., p. 428. Cf. KING LEAR, I., I., 5. ⁵ For his alleged promise at Knaresborough that no taxes should be paid by clergy or people, see *ANGL. SACR.*, II., 364, 369; *GASC.*, 234.

⁶ Of rightwisenesse which that out of this isle,
 Purposeth fully to fare and wende,
 So is oure reule unthrifty and unthende.

ten years law was nigh flemed¹ out of the land, and a friendly voice² warned him that his "much good rule was springing thin," and that a wise King would not so purchase his people's hate.³ The Churchmen feared that he would lift the Lollards and spoil the Church,⁴ but he screened their coffers and legalised the burning death. All classes in electing him had hoped that he would give the country peace,⁵ but his reign was filled with riot,⁶ and it closed with a legacy of war.

Nevertheless, he had so played his cards, that, if the inevitable war with France must come, he was able to reckon on the Kings of Portugal and Denmark, the Duke of Brittany, the Count Palatine, and the newly crowned Emperor Sigismund, if not to render him active aid, at least to abstain from lending a hand to England's enemy against him.⁷ But bodily weakness was his greatest foe, and while his strength was ebbing

¹ HALLIWELL, 362. ² HOCCL., DE REG., 100, 101.

³ Love without a gode governaile

A kyng hathe none; for though men no worde say,

Yf he his peple oppress it is no faile

They love him not in no manner wey.

They may his heste outwarde wele obey,

But in her hertes is small obeisaunce,

And unto God they compleyne her grevaunce.

And such a kyng is not prudent ne wise,

That of his peple purchacethe hym hate.

—HOCCL., DE REG., 173.

⁴ ANN., 304; PARL. HIST., II., 116. ⁵ Vol. II., p. 415; POL. SONGS, II., 3, 8.

⁶ The riot that hath been within this land,

Among ourself full many winters space,

Hath to the sword put many thousand.

—HOCCL., DE REG., 187; MORLEY, VI., 132.

⁷ HARL. MS., 431, 114, (101, b). When the Duke of Orleans attacked Guienne in 1403, he applied to the Archbishop of Cologne, the Bishop of Strasburg, and several princes and lords in Germany for help; but he failed owing to the influence of Rupert.—RTA., v., 405. Cf. "Eo potissimè quod ab alleganciâ cum aliis confirmandâ abstinere pro tempore benevolè voluistis."—In letter to Reginald, Duke of Geldres. ADD. MS. 24062, f. 151.

out, his court and council were rent with factions, each building hopes on his approaching end; and he died at the age of forty-seven,¹ leaving a family split with jarring ambitions and the country filled with levies just returned from abroad, balked of the fruits of victory through the fickleness of the French lords who had invoked their intervention a few months before.

I have already expressed my opinion² that the belief that King Henry died a leper is inconsistent with the facts of his life, and with the necessity for complete isolation prescribed by the exaggerated dread of infection then prevalent throughout the Christian world. Had Henry really been a leper, he could not have taken part in public affairs as he did during the latter years of his reign. Tradition fixed the first attack on June 8th, 1405;³ but his health had been weak fully a year before that date, and he had certainly recovered his usual strength within a fortnight after it.⁴ Five months afterwards he took a leading part in the wedding of the Earl of Arundel at Lambeth, where he was narrowly observed by the Portuguese envoys, who reported the events of the day to the court at Lisbon,⁵ without reference to any leprous scourge. On Feb. 20th, 1408, he wrote that "his body was in health and real convalescence."⁶ In July following, he attended the Convocation at St. Paul's,⁷ and in November of the same year he received Cardinal Guccione in state at Westminster.⁸

¹ Or 46, according to POL. VERG., 438. HOLT, LANGLEY, 334; not "an old man," as GARDINER, 298, 299. PAULI considered him to be about 25 years old in 1390, *i.e.*, born circ. 1365, or 1366; PRUTZ, XLI. He was knighted by Edward III., April 23rd, 1377.—DOYLE, I., 552; see also TYLER, I., 38; RAMSAY, I., 1. For evidence as to the year of his birth, see APP. DD. ² Vol. II., p. 252. ³ Vol. II., p. 249. ⁴ Vol. II., p. 252. ⁵ Vol. II., p. 336. ⁶ Vol. III., p. 122. ⁷ Vol. III., p. 353. ⁸ Vol. III., p. 365.

Two months later he was believed to be dying,¹ but before the next Easter he was able to thank God for the good health that he was in;² and when the Hanse envoys had an interview with him four months after this,³ they made no mention of any illness or personal disfigurement. He frequently attended councils, sat out public jousts and plays, and made arrangements for heading expeditions abroad. In the summer of 1411 he wrote to King Sigismund that he was sound and well,⁴ and it was only within a year or so of his death that he became no longer personable.⁵

Nothing, indeed, is more clearly proved from undesigned evidence than that Henry came of a weak stock, and was naturally a delicate man. His father had killed himself with unrestrained indulgence;⁶ most of his brothers and sisters had died in infancy;⁷ and the few remaining accounts of his household expenses contain constant references to physic. In the earliest of them, dated 1387,⁸ when he was about twenty years of age, it is noted that he had twice during that year been ill with the "pokkes."⁹ In 1390 he paid 6d. to a barber for blood-letting,¹⁰ and in the

¹ Vol. III., p. 233. ² Vol. III., p. 245. ³ *Viz.*, Aug. 15th, 1409, and Jan. 2nd., 1410, Vol. IV., pp. 11 and 14. ⁴ Nos et carissima conthoralis nostra necnon et liberi nostri in praesentium emissionem corporeâ sospitate viguimus et vigemus.—ADD. MS., 24062, f. 148; see Vol. III., p. 403, note 2. ⁵ Vol. IV., p. 102. ⁶ Vol. IV., p. 134. ⁷ NOTES AND QUERIES, 7th Ser., VIII., 424; HIGDEN, IX., 96. ⁸ Vol. III., p. 324, note 5; DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., 1, 1; APP. A. ⁹ Cf. Meny kynne sores as pockes and pestilences.—P. PLO. XXXIII., 97; of pockes and of scab and every sore.—CHAUC. PARDONER, 12,292. In PROMPT. PARV., 407; CATHOL., 286; "pokke" is sekenesse, porrigo, *i.e.*, some eruption on the skin especially in the face, called "measles" (*variolus*) in GADDESSEN, 1041; CATHOL., 237; WYCL. (A.), I., 71, 191; II., 12, 74; PARÉ, 757. For "small pockes" (*variola*) see MIRFIELD, in NORMAN MOORE, p. 14. The earliest mention of the pox in England is said to be in 1365.—DENTON, 100. ¹⁰ Cuidam barbitonsori flegbotomanti dominum.—DERBY ACCTS., 10.

1413.] "*But health, alack, with youthful wings is flown.*" 153

winter of the same year on returning from his expedition with the German Knights, he was prostrated with illness at Königsberg,¹ and the High Master's physician had to be summoned from the Marienburg to attend him.² In 1395 he paid £1 11s. 10d. to William Chichele,³ the grocer, for medicines,⁴ bought by order of his physician, John Malvern.⁵ In 1397 the Chicheles supplied a plaster to ease his back,⁶ and the next year they sent him another account for medicines in London.⁷ In 1403 his surgeon, John Bradmore, paid £2 for medicines for him,⁸ and in the year following he wrote to King Rupert⁹ that it had pleased God to visit him with bodily sickness, though he was daily feeling the benefit of returning health.

So that even if the theory of leprosy be abandoned, some heed may nevertheless be paid to the evidence of eye-witnesses, who say that they saw the pushes on his face at Ripon,¹⁰ and of contemporaries who report his dreadful appearance at the time of his death.¹¹ In Paris¹² it was said that not only his face but his toes and fingers had been eaten away, while in Scotland¹³ it became an article of faith that he

¹ Not at Danzig, as PRUTZ, LXXII. ² Cuidam fisiciano de Marynburg visitanti Dominum, XL. s.—HIRSCH, II., 792; DERBY ACCTS., 110; PRUTZ, 102. In 1289 Bishop Swinfield paid 6s. 8d. at Ledbury magistro Johanni fisico.—WEBB, 151. ³ Vol. III., p. 136. ⁴ DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., I., 4, APP. A. In WARDROBE ACCTS., APP. C., are frequent purchases of dragon's-blood (*sang' draconis*) for the king. ⁵ Vol. II., p. 238; III., p. 231. For "fysicien" see CHAUC. (S.), I., 228, 278, 296; II., 6, 43; DESCHAMPS, VIII., 106, 143, 179, 296, 345. ⁶ Pr' 1 emplastro pro dorso domini levando.—DUC. LANC. REC., XXVIII., I., 5, APP. A. ⁷ *Ibid.* ⁸ Q. R. WARDROBE, ⁹ APP. B. ⁹ MART. ANEC., I., 1707-1712; BEKINGTON, II., 373. ¹⁰ Vol. II., p. 248. ¹¹ Vol. II., p. 249; Vol. IV., p. 102. ¹² ST. DENYS, IV., 770; WAURIN, III., 159; MONSTR., II., 337. Lequel on disoit estre mesel.—JUV., 480. Car de mézelerie ot tout le cors à fin.—GESTE, 394. Diutino et infectivo morbo ut ferebatur conquassatus.—BRANDO, 162. ¹³ SCOTICHRON., II., 428.

was stricken, not only with leprosy, but with spasm, red-gum,¹ asthma, and gout, and that his body dwindled² to the size of a twelve-year child.³ This last exaggeration may, of course, be refuted from the length of the coffin unearthed in 1832,⁴ but little reliance can be placed on the evidence supplied by the appearance of the face as then disclosed, for the view was limited to the lower part of it, and the nose crumbled away before the autopsy was concluded.

It is certain that King Henry's death occurred soon after a fainting fit, and from this it has been inferred that he died of an apoplexy. This view was first put forward by Halle,⁵ who had set himself resolutely against believing in the leprosy;⁶ and so, in the course of time, the various writers have rung the changes over a "burning ague,"⁷ a "paralytic complaint,"⁸ "fits which bereaved him for a time of his senses,"⁹ a "cutaneous disorder,"¹⁰ or "something of the scorbutic kind."¹¹ Others join all together and attribute the death to "eruptions in the face, and attacks of epilepsy,"¹² while the most recent attempt at a solution proposed by a medical expert¹³ pro-

¹ Cf. Redgownd (*gutta rosacea*).—CHAULIAC, 100; PROMPT. PARV., 426; Gund = pus, tabum, sanies.—LYE; BOSWORTH; also HALLIWELL, p. 637, s.v. Redgown. ² Drye and dwynded al for elde.—CHAUC. (S.), I., 108. ³ A little later this had shrunk to a two-year-old child.—PLUSCARD, I., 338. ⁴ Vol. II., p. 363. ⁵ He defines it as "a sickness engendered of the gross humours which fill the vessels of the head, from whence the feeling of the body cometh."—HALLE, 32 b.; followed by GRAFTON, 442; HOLINS., 541; MARTYN, 174, etc. ⁶ Vol. II., p. 249, note 5. ⁷ LEL., COL., I., 487. ⁸ ANDREWS, II., 14. ⁹ HUME, II., 296. ¹⁰ KNIGHT, II., 22. ¹¹ GOUGH, III., 34. ¹² MACKINTOSH, I., 345. Cf. "Epileptic fits and a cutaneous disorder."—GARDINER, 299. For the "falling evil," *i.e.*, Epilepsy, see WYCL. (A.), I., 264; or "falling sickness."—MYROURE, LIX.; "falling lipper."—BELLENDEN (BOECE), LVIII., in J. Y. SIMPSON, II., 124. ¹³ NORMAN MOORE, in *DICT. NAT. BIOG.*, XXVI., 41.

nounces it to be a case of valvular disease of the heart, accompanied by syncope, complicated with *herpes labialis*, and “perhaps other aggravations!”—showing apparently that it is as hard to diagnose a mediæval disease as to make sense of a mediæval battle.

Appendices A—G consist of extracts from documents in the Public Record Office hitherto unpublished. They are mere scraps, but I print them in the hope that they may perhaps be of some service to students. I have made little attempt at annotation beyond occasional references to the body of the text where some of this material has been incorporated.

APPENDIX A.

DUCHY OF LANCASTER RECORDS.

Class xxviii. Bundle I. No. I. *Hugh Waterton's*¹ *Account Sep. 30th 1387 to Sep. 30th 1388.* (See Dep. Keep. 30th Rept. p. 35).

Richd. Kingston (clerk) is Archdeacon of Hereford.²

Total receipt with arrears = £2005 15s. 6½d.

1 par de miteyns. Black Naples fustian. Demigown for young Lord Henry (dimid' gown juv. dni Henric³). Slopp dni' broder' cum mayles (white satin). Jakke stuffed with cotton and canvas.

Yellow worsted in boltes. Slopps and doublets. Fil' colon (*i.e.*, Cologne) = 15d.

1 lect' blod' in camera Juv. dni Thomæ.⁴ 1¼ lb corde fil' blod'.
1 pilche furred de gryns. Calcar' de laton. Gown de sangwyn.
Gown de garters furred and purfled anew. Gown de scarlet de staur'.

Saddlery.—Fausreyne, girth-bokles, sup'singlis, shackles.

Armourer.—1 faucebras, Aventail de steel.

Slopp de satin. 1 lirrpirii of black cloth.

Gilbert Prince painting banner with arms (23/4).

Goldsmith.—Gold garter ad mod' fol' de hawthorn. Silver gilt

¹ Vol. II., p. 292, note 4; III., p. 159, note 9.

² Vol. II., p. 5, note 4.

³ Vol. III., p. 325, note 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 324, note 5.

collars made ad mod' de Snagg¹ with silk broidered tissues for same given to Sir Wm Bagot² and Sir John Stanley.³

Mirror with glazing (6d.). 6 bract' made by a woman of tel' de Reynes for Henry.

1 fistula nomine Ricordo⁴ bought in London.

Medicines bought for lord p. master John Midelton quum dominus infirmabatur de les pokkes⁵ p. ii. vic. (11/4).

3 hinges of an old standard. 1 falcon (66/8).

Minstrel playing coram domino at house of Sir Richd. Adderbury, London (13/4).

Two of the Duke of York's men playing ad pilam manualem⁶ cum domino. He loses 26/8 erga eos.⁷

To midwife (Joan) obstitrici with dnā in delivery of Juv. dni Thomæ⁸ in London (40/-).

Sir Wm. Bagot for grey⁹ cursar bought of him (£13 6s. 8d.).

1 ambler (£5). Pr. 1 equo som' Bay' (£4). 1 malar (73s. 5d.). 2 horses for his trumpeters 40/- (*i.e.*, £1 each).

Acct. of Countess of Derby.

2 gowns for young lords¹⁰ scarlet and tartryn 1¾ ells. Kirtles and shoes (calig') for same.

2 ells of short white cloth. Nurse's bed of young lord Thomas at Kenilworth. 5 ells short white cloth. Covering cradle of young Thomas. 2 ells short blod' pann'.

¹ Vol. II., p. 289, note 8.

² *I.e.*, of Baginton or Bathkyngton (DUGD., WARW., 230), nr. Coventry (not Packington as I., 76).—HIST. MSS., 10th Rept., I., 103; ARCHÆOL., XX., 278. King Richard II. stayed there in 1398 before the lists at Coventry.—HOLINS., II., 494. Bagot was in Henry's retinue as Earl of Derby in 1390.—DERBY ACCTS., 118, 122, 306. After his release from the Tower, Nov. 12, 1400, he served in Parliament (1402) as one of the members for Warwickshire.—RETURN PARL., I., 264; DUGD., WARW., 231. On Dec. 13th, 1406, he was receiving £100 p. a. from the Ex-

chequer.—ISS. ROLL., 8 H. IV., MICH. He died Sep. 6, 1407. For his brass in Baginton church see DUGDALE, WARWICKSHIRE, 235; GOUGH, III., 23; BOUTELL, BRASSES AND SLABS, 56; ARCHÆOL. CANT., I., 82. In PAT., 11 H. IV., I, 3 (Mar. 8, 1410) he is referred to as dead.

³ Vol. II., pp. 289-292.

⁴ Vol. III., p. 325, note 3.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 326; IV., p. 152, note 8.

⁶ Vol. III., p. 326, note 1.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 324, note 5.

⁹ Vol. II., p. 237, note 5.

¹⁰ Vol. III., p. 325.

18 gowns and hoods to 18 poor women die Cenæ (March 26, 1388) + 6d. each.

Christmas livery for nurses of young Henry and Thomas both called Joan.

Juliana Rokster has livery for Christmas.

To Lady Katharine Swinford¹ and Jane her daughter for Christmas. 2 bald. ceric. alb. et blod' for livery of Lady Derby with 7½ tymbr' menev' fur + 5 tymbr' for daughter Jane.

To Peter Swan for embroidering an armilaus' dnē with harebells.

1½ ells satin alb' et blod' gowns for young lords,² also scarlet, red tartryn and blod' tartryn.

2¾ ells cindon³ de t'ple (3/6 per ell).

Tel' de Reynes bought of *John* (sic) Whittington, mercer, of London.

1 napron for Countess of Derby for washing her hands. 2 do. for washing feet of poor die Cenæ. 3½ ells tel' flandres.

4 oz. orfonde. 28 pairs of sotular' russ' for feet of young lords.⁴ 3 furr' Biss'.

2 new faustcrops (sic). 4 collars for leporarii of Countess. Boat from Fleet St. to St. Katharine's 16d. (twice).

3 doz. and 4 nod' cordarum cithar⁵ for Countess (8/-).

1 ferr' empt. pro domina pro cantico regul' (10d.) et p. regulac' unius pell' p'cameni pro cant' sup'intend' (4d.).

Offerings in London on way to Kenilworth.

John Leventhorpe sent fr. Kenilworth to Oxford pro magistro Galfrido de Melton⁶ medico causa infirmitatis dnē. For bringing her a leporarius per donum Wm. Moton.

Class xxviii. Bundle I. No. 2. *Loveney's Computus May 14th 1391 to May 14th 1392, i.e., interval between 2 journeys to Königsberg.*

Richard Kingston *late* Treasurer of War p. viaggio dni. in partibus de Prus'.

¹ Vol. III., p. 258, note 14.

² *Ibid.*, p. 325.

³ Vol. II., p. 444, note 13.

⁴ Vol. III., p. 325.

⁵ *Ibid.*, note 4.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 326.

1 long cloak p. corpore dni. $\frac{1}{2}$ ell scarlet vampays.

4 pr. caligarum nomine Chaussembles. Dagging 1 slopp of black satin. Do. 1 slopp of cloth erga hastiludium pacis at Waltham, Kenilworth, Brambletye and Hertford (Christmas). Long white cloth for sokkes. Short white cloth for mantelett of cloak regalis for Christmas. To Norman Ferrod' pallefridarius dni., 6 ells of satin white cloth for 6 houces cursariis cum panno blod'.

John Will keeper of his barge with 8 bargemen—red cloth with scarlet hoods for men.

Wm. Allgood, Will. de York, Master John Nakerner, John Bromer, Robt. Crakile and Thos. Trumpett minstrels¹ dni blod' ray cloth and tanne facings.

2 pieces of racemas at obit of Countess of St. Pol at Westminster.

5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ells of blod' silk velvet, gift of Countess of Derby.

1 black velvet бага p. capitogi' dñi imponendo. 8 ells double red satin for 1 pastok and 1 doublet and sleeves for pastok. Red and white satin for 2 getons for his lance. Taffat' plunket. 4 ells white and blod' taffat' for chaplet for ketelhatt'.

3 ells tel' de² champayne and 3 do. flanders tel' for covering baptismal font juv. dnē Blanche at Peterborough'.³

8 $\frac{3}{4}$ do. for shirts for young Henry,⁴ Thomas, John and Humphrey. 6 ells tel' de Braban as covering for 6 shields vapulat' for hastilud' at Waltham.

6 ells canabi for 1 paylett nutricis Blanche.⁵ 2 ells Westvall' gr' p. circumvoluc' humeri unius cursar' dni Kess (? sess) apud Hertford die hastiludii.

2 $\frac{3}{4}$ ells silk fringe (red, white and black) for red velvet jack.

Blod' cloke purfled with ermine. Minever cum Robe de Garters.

23 dors grys. Furring pr. of pynsons.

500 bisses nō Tawak'⁶ (10/- per 1250) = £6 5s. od.

¹ DERBY ACCTS., xcviI., 269, |
271., 287, 291.

² See Vol. II., p. 445, note 2; |
III., p. 248, note 12.

³ Vol. III., p. 248, note 11.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 326, note 8.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 248, note 11.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 195, note 7.

Hedstall, jewelled saddle. 1 pr. stiropethrers. Countra-sengles, staples, braces, 1 whitlock, justyngbridell. 1 pr. faustirops (*sic*) or sterops.

Vanbraces, rerebraces, gloves, helm basenet, plates new furbished. Pr. of Briganters covered in Bald. aur. de Cypr'. 1 pr. manic'. 1 pr. leghneys. 1 grate. 1 cormall. Botenyng one lorica. Tresses canabi. Labell' de mayl. Arming 2 Aventayles for basenet. Gilding hilt and pomell. Rivet for sword. Lances, helmthongs. 2 styles for cleaning sword scabbards. Black skin for them. Mending and augmenting a lorica dni (given Oct. 12, 1391). Gloves of plate.

Peter Swan, broidering a satin paltok with chevrons auri de cypr.

Do., a sleeve of short velvet motley, slop with Seint John Wort and Soveyne Vous de Moy (60/-). Do., cervis¹ intra garters. Do., ad modum unius binde de suagges et soveyns vous de moy. Do., red velvet paltok ad modum de molyns aur. de cypr. Do., cum monte et 1 rotelo (*sic*) de ermyno et souveyne vous de moy.

Gilbert Prince, vapulat' 3 banners for his trumpeters (60/-). Do., covering of 6 shields palez white, red and black with white and red bands written with white and red letters (2/6 each) = 15/-. Vapulat' covers of sacc' et sell'. Also busk for helm painted with flowers.

Herman and Louis Goldsmith and Henry Goldbeter, mending 2 silver gilt collars for young² Henry and Thomas. Making and garnishing firmacli ad modum literæ de "h" script' ex utraque parte plenis literis with baleys in eodem (16/8). A broad girdle made like a tayle of forget-me-nots³ pendent. A gold collar ad modum de round suagges and within the same suagges 1 sign (? swan) et 1 S usque 8 sign' et 7 S (£23 10s. 10d.). 82 silvergilt molberyes for a slop-collar ad modum cerurar' (*i.e.*, serrurarum = locks) pendent. Garter of pebbles and stones. 310 silvergilt leaves of forget-me-not for a slop (12/10). 156 do. for a sleeve (21/3½). Gold nouch ad modum unius Panter with sapphires and pearls. 1 stag deaur' de Cokill. Gold hind⁴ white enamel in a

¹ Vol. II., p. 29, note 1.
² Vol. III., p. 326, note 8.

³ Vol. IV., p. 117, note 2.
⁴ Vol. II., p. 29, note 1.

garter with collar round its neck given to Countess of Derby (£9).
 1 pair paternosters of gold and coral with gold crucifix de perre (?).
 Nouche like an eagle. 1 diamond in a gold ring to dnē K. Swyn-
 ford (53/4). 1 pair paternosters de coral to Jane (*sic*) Beauford.

Gowne de Garters erga St. George.

Wardrobe in Baynard Castle, London.

Carriage of a pipe full of blanderers from London to Walmes-
 ford¹ *versus* Peterbro' the gift of John Norbury. Pears, nuts, pese-
 coddes and blanderers bought cum calatho and sent from London
 to Hertford May 20, 1391.

1 shirt and 2 bratt' tel flandr'. Boatage of men from London
 to Lambeth for Kennington (4d.). Flocks for stuffing tester of
 horse (1d.). Hospitium dni in Holborn. Scouring 34 tapetis lecto-
 rum at Bolingbroke July 23, 1391 (2od.).

Barber shaving Henry at Boston, July 25, (2od.). 1 shaping-
 board, table and tressels.

1 shirt cum bracc' (1od.). Tempering a visor of a basnet. Pro
 pulvere carbon and other necessaries. 1 rope and 2 weles for the
 barge. Pakthred. Scouring mantellet Rob' Reg' erga nat. dni
 (4d.). Talwing barge. 1 long skeppe. 1 skotell de wikeres for
 carrying coal and other necessaries. Fil' alb de twin (= twine) 3d.

Messengers bringing anni donum unum de Regina (13/4).

1 pr. paternosters de cokyll et de Jaspre (40/-). Firmacl⁹ gold
 cum ista (*sic*) sermone *Sans mal penser* (13/4). 1 couple velvet
 aur' de cipr' bought in London of Richd. Whittington mercer.

Piece of Attaby', of camelot. Messenger coming to Hy. at
 Fakenham while he is in London Satdy. Feb. 18, to supper and
 breakfast (17/2½). Equo somer Bay (67/-). Gris p. mantic' dni
 (46/10).

In London July 7, 1391. Peterboro',² Oct. 19, 1391. Two of
 Henry's father's minstrels at Hertford Jan 1, 1392 (26/8).

Messenger from Lord Darcy presenting cursar Bay' to Henry
 at Templehurst (6/8).

Trompou and clarioner. Emmote Lauender de hospitio regis.
 At Windsor St. George's Day.

¹ Vol. III., pp. 248, 327.

| ² Vol. III., p. 248, note 10.

Curser from Otes Granson presented at Dartford.

26 paupers die cene (Apr. 11, 1392) slops and hoods of russet and shoes (5d. per pair) 10/10.

Same roll has expenses of young lords and ladies fr. Sep. 30, 1391, to May 14, 1392 = £13 13s. 6½d.

Kirtles for Henry, Thomas, John and Humphrey¹ bought Dec. 4th.

Tel' de Brabant for 1 fotshete (? footsheet).

Class xxviii. Bundle 1. No. 3. *Loveney's Comptus* from June 30, 1393, to Feb. 15, 1394, i.e., after return from Holy Land.

R. Kingston is Archdeacon of Hereford.²

3 ells scarlet for Mary Huy³ magistrissa juv. dnōrum, Hertford, Dec. 10, 1393.

Peter Swan, broyderer, dagges broidered with forget-me-nots.

26½ ells⁴ scarlet (£7 19s. od.). 12 ells pann' plunket non tonsat'.

Red fres (= frieze) cloth.

Cloth motlee of Candlewick Street.

3 baldekins aur' de cibr'. Do. of silk,—of damask containing 14 ells bought of Richard Whittington.

Doublett cum manicis cambial'.

P. 1 pectore pallat' broidered with Henry's flowers for hastilud' pacis at Hertford. Also 3 fausmanches and 2 par' pilues for do.

Belt embroidered with leaves of forget-me-not.

Covering saddles with testers and pysers.

Saddler for stuffing a pyser dnī with canvas or coton for hastilud'. Also stuffing tester dextrii.

Vapulat' breast dnī and other harness.

Worsted strict' in bolt. Black, white and red fringe for pen-cealx lancearum.

8 collars for 8 greyhounds (leporariorum) sent to Comes Virtutum.

Belt and garter harnessed with gold. Pynsons and soles. Soles without pynsons.

¹ Vol. III., p. 326, note 8.

² Vol. II., p. 5, note 4.

³ = Heryy.—Vol. III., p. 327, note 7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 178, note 3.

96 ells Wadmoll for covering barge (22/10). 1 pr. braces cor' de Hungri' (1/6).

1 pr. miteyins cor' bon' (8d.).

Dors' de christygris'.

3 sompanell'. 1 new soŋcrop'. 1 new single somar'. Warrok. 1 pr. fausterops (*sic*).

6 singlis de fil' alb' cum pluscul'. Tel' fil' pro singlis equorum.

Double grey webbes pro singlis equorum. Boklepeces, tenon. Sege p. sell' leopardi. 1 tovet' soŋgyrth, byte (= bit), supersingles.

Armourer.—Mayndeser. Vambras with 1 Besagn. Rerebras for right shoulder. 2 iron pesans. 1 pr. gussettes de mail de steel. Vamplates. 1 lb. emery for cleaning harness (1/-). 4 burrews p. brach (1/1). Ling for pysen (*sic*). 8 curreys. 3 boveux p. scut. Copper-gilt chain. Barb, helm. 2 strypes de mayl.

Carrying 1 armariolo (40/-) from church of St. James Garlick-hythe to hospitium dni at Baynard Castle.

Broidering gown palat' de flocks and white satin ad modum de tayles cum frond. et fol. de mullberyes with mulberries silvergilt.

Gown barr' de satin forget-me-nots Tresses masklez auri and silvergilt bells. Broiding 6 firmaclis placed on a slopp. 1 pr. calig' pro dnō de lib. regis Hungarie¹ ad modum vuln'n' (? unlnn) et sagittarum.

Goldsmith.—Baslard ad modum de Tresses. Gold collar made of 17 letters de S ad modum plum' (*i.e.*, feathers) cum rotulis et scripturis in eisdem.

Gold garter ad modum flor. de forget-me-nots. Ad modum windows with bells hanging. Ad modum florum dni. 118 flor' dni. 118 silver gilt bells. Ad modum de mast de beech for baltock of black velvet.

Vapulatio banner, saddles, tester, pyser, shields with 1 breast and 1 wing p. galea dni, painted black and white palat' with gold forget-me-nots. 2 bussches for helmet for jousts at Hertford (Christmas). Do. at Westminster.

100 cayleweys² cum calathis sent by dmns to Countess at Peterbro' (22d.).

¹ Vol. III., p. 402, note 4.

| ² Vol. III., p. 327, note 5.

3 leses (? = leashes) p. leporariis ducendis Comiti Virtut' (2/2).
2 orynalx vitri (2d.). Scheth for a vagina. 2 weles de quercu p.
bargia dni salv' custodiend' (1/6). Skeyne fil' de Wadmoll.

Brooch broidered on a slopp of black frieze.

To Master J. Dalingrigge milit' for barge hired for Henry in
London, Jan. 7, 1394.

Sepo for barge (3/4). Boatage for familia Dni London to
Westminster for hastilude.

2 drawing needles (2d.). Pacneedles (1/3d.). Parcel p. leopdō¹
fr. apothecary.

Henry moves fr. London to Hertford Vig. Circumcisionis
(= Dec. 31, 1393).

Dn̄s Peter de Bukton presents Henry with a piece of chamelot
in London, Jan. 12, 1394.

1 tablet aur' ad modum tabernacli with figure of Mary, and 24
pearls given to Countess of Hereford as anni donum, Jan. 1, 1394
(£7). Drew Barentyn.

1 gold tablet ad modum unius libri given to Thomas Erping-
ham (18/-).

3 large silver gilt horns sent to Count of Vertus, Lord of Melan.

Oysters mussels and sprats sent from London to Hertford
versus dn̄am cum calatho (3/-).

4 baldekyn of white damask given to Countess of Derby and
dn̄e Kath' Swynford (78/4d. per piece) = £14 14s. 4d.

A jester of king of France at Hertford.

Juliana and Agnes Rokster are domicellæ of Thomas and
Humphrey.

1 lb. fil colonix (1/3).

Class xxviii. Bundle 3. No. 3. *Hugh Waterton*² *re-
ceptor denar'*, *Comptus for Henry E. of Derby (when 18 years old—
Dep. Keep., 30th Report, p. 37), from Sep. 29, 1381, to Sep. 29, 1382,
fr. manors of Daventry, Salm'*³ *and Passenham. Total receipt =
£428 9s. 11½d.*

¹ Vol. IV., p. 107, note 3. For
leopard brought from Cyprus in
1393, see DERBY ACCTS., LXV., 346.

² Vol. II., p. 292.

³ *i.e.*, Soham, Cambridgeshire.

1 tabard plunkett cloth. Long bluett damask furred with gryss gift of Duchess of Lancaster. Slop of gold cloth of damask. Satin paltoc' charged (ponderat') with gold leopards (leopdis).

2 ells fine panni linei de Brabant for 6 braccis (2od. p. ell = 3/4) making it up with silk (2/-). ½ piece white baudekyn damask. Black baudekyn for a ffaconbagge. 2 ells of Reynes for 2 kercheves. 1 piece of blue baudekyn for mantle of St. George (5 ells = £4) Apr. 6, 1382. Panni linei de Reynes.

Scouring 8 ermines (1/-). Mending and burnishing a garter (1/-).

A new baselard of maser cum vagina (4/6). 1 pr. ockrearum bought at Rothwell, Oct. 15, 1381.

1 par calcaria de laton and copper gilt bought Jan. 16 erga coronationem reginæ.

Oblations 1d. p. day (total = 13/7 + 32/3 + 4/7). 4d. on high altar in¹ Abbey at Pomfret.

4d. high mass All Sts. 4d. at Rode atte Nordore going to Hertford. 2od. die Parasceve Apr. 4, 1382.

1d. each to 25 paupers before gate at Hertford. Maundy Thursday (Apr. 3rd, 1382). 13 paupers pro quibus nil. (and 2 because Henry was 15 years of age at 1/- = 2/-). Wiping their feet with towel.

4d. at High altar apud Newerk Leicester May 17, 1382. 4d. and 5d. Beverley, Higham Ferrers, Sheford, St. Albans, Lincoln, Kelyngworth, Coventry, York.

Gifts 3/4 (Nov. 16, 1381) to a man for finding his collar lost at Rothwell.

13/4 to minstrel of his father pro novo dono Jan. 1, 1382.

1 ell de ray champ' rub'.

Data uni armigero voc' Westcombe de dnâ meâ² Princessa de Bokyngham portanti domino meo nova quod domina sua erat deliberata de puero Apr. 16th, 1382,³ by order of Duke of Lancaster (66/8).

¹ Though always called a Priory | cester and E. of Buckingham, elder
in MONAST., v., p. 118. | sister of Mary de Bohun.—Vol. IV.,

² = Eleanor de Bohun, wife of | p. 131, note 5.
Thos. of Woodstock, Duke of Glou- | ³ Vol. III., p. 325, note 1.

Ap. 18th, 1382, at Retheford,¹ magistre pueri predicti (40/-) nurse pueri predicti (26/8).

July 10, 1382, lusoribus ad pelcem (3/4). Sep. 2nd at Tidswell to Benedict Tatton, who gave him a greyhound (leporarius) (20d.). Sep. 10th, to a man qui attulit dnæ a mare at Pomfret (6/8). A beverhat (3/4). A fotshite (? footsheet) of 3 ells of Brabant cloth.

1 lagena vini de Romeneye given dnæ Philippæ, his sister, Mar. 31st, 1382 (2/-).

36 poyntes for his armour (1/-) for jousts at Hertford. Ad ludendum ad tabulas at Leicester (2d.) (given to my lord). Do. do. Aug. 12, 1382 (20d.) mending a broken bow which formerly belonged to his mother. To keeper of his wardrobe in Coleman Street.²

3 hackneys, 3 palfreys, 3 cursars, 2 sommars, 1 malar.

His clerk to London from Hertford p. liberat' garteriorum dni nostri regis erga festum St. George. June 4th, 1382, Hugh Waterton from Leicester to Banbury to bring back a horse stolen from Passenham. June 11th, do. from Leicester to Passenham, holds court there to make peace between Henry's tenants at Passenham and their neighbours (tenants of Aubrey de Vere) at Stony Stratford who had beaten Henry's tenants. July, do. from Leicester to London and Yesthampstead to king to explain as to quarrel between tenants.

Sep. 12th, 1382, wages to Thos. Swynford³ mil.

Saddler.—Pastrons. 1 qr. of Popilion and 1 qr. of Dewtee for a sick sommar. 1 house erga St. George (24/4). Pr. 1 singlo de Twyn (twine) for cursar. 1 pr. faustirops (1/6). Cell' amblar'.

Expenses = (£287 16s. 0½d.), thus: Drapery (£18 12s. od.). Necessaries of wardrobe (£1 18s. od.). Mercery (£20 8s. 5d.). Peltry (£16 16s. 8d.). Aurifabria (£26 2s. 11¼d.). Cordwainer (£3 3s. 9d.). Calcerarii (£1 16s. od.). Alms (£2 10s. 5d.). Donations (£14 14s. 4d.). Necessaries (£5 os. 4d.). Wages (£14 16s. 8d.). Conduct of Wardrobe in Coleman Street (£3 os. od.). Keeping and cleaning of armoury (13/4). Horses with wages (£103 13s. 0¼d.). Necessaries of stables (£4 6s. 7d.).

¹ ? = Rochford, see N. AND Q., |
7th S., vi., 73.

² Vol. IV., p. 140, note 3.

³ Vol. III., p. 260, note 4.

Class xxviii. Bundle 1. No. 4. *Loveney's*¹ *Account from Feb. 1, 1395 to Feb. 1, 1396.*

Drapery.—To John Wille and 8 bargemen, sociis suis, each 1½ ells panni radiati. 6 prs. of chaussemblez. Gold velvet and red velvet cum terrag' de satyn. De dono Comitibus Virtutum. 19 ells velvet motley given to Duke of Lancaster his father at Canterbury Jan. 1st. Baldek de Damaske alb' et blod' virid' et rub' et black.

Mercery.—Doublet with 1 pr. of wide sleeves with wide "cuffys." Black satin for broidering my Lord's shoes. Pieces of red and green Attaby. Chamelot. Tartryn. Curtains for his bed. Red tartryn curtains for altar of his chapel. Taffata. Telæ de Reynes,² telæ de Champanie, tel Flandr' for lining his doublet. Sokkes. Tapet de worsted. 1 pr. "plates" domini. Tel Flandr' for sheets and "smokkes." Tel' de Brabant.

5 ells canabi pro' trussura armaturarum dni ad Plasshe circa hastiludium.

Ells of Westvall. Bokeram (black) and fustian. Embroidery tapetarum with eagles and shields. Pieces reban, auri de Damask, auri de Cipre. 10½ pieces black and white reban serici weighing 8 oz. for tying curtyns and "sulstris" de Bald' serici. Silk fringe black and white pro volantibus celuræ lecti de Baldek ceric'

Silk tissues bought by weight from Cecily Silkwyff.³ Red silk laces. Girdle. 1 silk lace p. 1 astrelabr'⁴ dni. Lbs. of coloured thread and de prus'. Lbs. of cord. Ells of Wadmoll.⁵

Peltry.—Timmers and bellies of ermins. Pure menev'. Dors' gryns for furring 2 prs. of pynsons. 3 tymbr' 23 dors' cristygr'⁶ for do. Pell' de cheverell for furring 1 pilchē. Martins, foynes. 120 foynes⁷ for furring a long gown of black.

¹ For Wm. Loveney, clerk of the wardrobe, see Vol. II., p. 442; DERBY ACCTS., xcii., xcvi., 294, 321.

² *I.e.*, Rheims.—Vol. II., p. 445, note 2; III., p. 248, note 12. *Cf.* Tel' de Reynes, Vini de Reynes.—DERBY ACCTS., 152, 172.

³ Vol. II., p. 439, note 1.

⁴ GOWER, CONF., 336. For description see CHAUCER, ASTROLABE, p. xxxiii.

⁵ ROGERS, I., 579.

⁶ = Christygrys.

⁷ Foiunet, mustela. DU CANGE, s. v., Foini = wood-martin or beech-martin. COTGRAVE, s. v., Fouinne,

Saddlery.—Saddle of a courser¹ covered with red velvet, gilt before and behind. Saddle of laton with harness with black fringe. 2 pr. fauscerops² (? false cruppers) p. hensman dnī (3/4). 1 pr. fausreyn. 1 soṁcroper dupl' (= 2/-). 1 soṁpeytrell cum emendatione unius sell' soṁ (= 6/-).³ 1 byt darest. 1 freno soṁ darest. 1 freyne maler. 1 pr. malereynes (8d.). Pro 1 supsinglo (8d.). 2 soṁ girths (16d.). 1 faus cropir (8d.). 1 soṁpanell (3/4). 1 contresengl'⁴ pr. eadem soṁ sadell (4d.). Pro stuffura unius coll' maler (4d.) 1 fausreyn (4d.). Panell malar. 1 hedstall unius freni soṁ (1/6). 1 supsengl.⁵ Saddles curs' et malar dnī. Apud Tuttebury, May 20th. Purchases at Leicester, Plympton (in com. Devon), Wells, Higham Ferrers. 1 nov' pole p. eq^o capell' dni. 2 houses corei. Pr. 1 singlo, 1 rena, 1 grubb, 1 bochet (= 5d.).

Armourers.—Breastplate. Pr. of plates. 1 mayn de fer (= 18/-). Vantbras.⁶ 1 pr. rerebras. 1 palrun of 3 pieces. 1 besagn (or peseyne). Cleaning 1 ketelhutt (1/-). 1 belt. 2 pluscul'. Furbishing sword sheath. Fastening hilts dagger. 1 corde canabi for hastilude versus Pleshe. Oil for cleaning armour. Scabbard, helmet. 20 tresses. Baselard fact. ad modum de tresses.

Goldsmith.—Hermanno feñ. Glewe pr. emendatione unius coler aur' dni ad mod' de flor' de sovenie ve de moy.⁷ Pr. novis revettes (10/-) et pr. retts cum sign. noviter amailat'. 1 silver gredeyrn. Mending a large ouche⁸ and placing new foyl sub uno baleys.⁹ Pondera unius stipe magnæ silver gilt ad modum fenestr' ferr'. Amalur' of large gold stag, replacing pearls in its horns and making a hard chain for it. Silver wire for hilts of sword. 1 pluscul' and 6 stiparum silver gilt for a belt. Mending

¹ *Anglicè* Courciers.—RYM., IX., 291.

² Vol. IV., p. 143, note 3; or "ofauscropps," "uffauscropours."

³ *I.e.*, somarii (sumpter).—WEBB, 131.

⁴ DERBY ACCTS., 177; PRUTZ, 160; *cf.* contrecengle.—DESCHAMPS, v., 197.

⁵ Vol. IV., p. 143, note 3. For

surcingles or seursangles, see COMP-
TES DE L'HOTEL, 170; DERBY
ACCTS., 7, 13, 46, 94, 247; PRUTZ,
9. *Cf.* In xij. pusculis (*i.e.*, buckles)
ad sr'cinglas.—WEBB, 136.

⁶ DU CANGE, s. v.

⁷ *Cf.* Vol. IV., p. 117, note 2.

⁸ Vol. II., p. 478, note 4.

⁹ For balas or' rose-ruby, see
HOLT, 135.

loket of a baselard. New gold crampons made for 2 baleys in terrag' of a gold stag.

Painter.¹—4 banners vapulatis de armis dñi. Gilbert Prince p. vapulacione cooptur' saccor' pro' hastilud' pacis vapulat' de silver and green colour cum phelett' aur' et fol' aur' de lorree (26/8). Do. for 1 skin of parchment deaur' on both sides bought p. fol. de lorree pendent placed sup. 1 curt gown (? short gown) p. hastilud' pacis (13/4).

Broderer.—Peter Swan, embroidering 12 tapetis² de worsted for 1 bed, each embroidered with 5 "compases," each compas with 2 eagles holding between them the shield of arms of Henry *viz.*, arms of England with labell, and arms of Hereford and Derby ac cum bagis of white and red feathers (33/- each) (= £20).

Jewels for presents³ pro novo dono on New Year's Day.

Gold greyhound (leporarius) with ruby to Duchess of Gloucester (£7 6s. 8d.).

Gold ouche like a garter with 1 Baleys and pearls to Duchess of Norfolk (£6).

Diamond rings. Gold tablets. 1 gold ouche ad modum domicell' infra.

1 taylor, to Francis de Courte⁴ (66/8). 1 do. playing with leporarius to E. of Huntingdon (£7).

1 gold ouche representing 2 men playing ad peltē pro novo dono dno Johī militi Portugal (£6 13s. 4d.). Et lib. in manus dñi apud London per manus Galfri Chaucer⁵ (£10).

John Davy de cam'a dñi eunti de Kenill' ad Leycestre pro una cithara dñi (3/4).

Matill'⁶ nutrici juvenis dnē Blanch apud Bytham (13/4).

March 18th, horse hired in London speed to Leicester causa infirmitatis juvenis⁷ dñi Henrici (6/8).

Carrying gowns for 24 poor men for anniversary of late Countess of Derby at Leicester.⁸

¹ Picture et vapulatio. Cf. an auter cloth of blak tarteryn baten with estrich fetheris and lynes.—LOND. AND MID. ARCHÆOL. Soc., v., 117.

² Cf. Vol. II., pp. 308, note 8.

³ Vol. II., p. 478, note 8.

⁴ Vol. IV., p. 37, note 4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 136, note 3.

⁶ Vol. II., p. 436, note 2.

⁷ Vol. III., p. 327, note 9.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 237, note 1.

Carrying a cloth-sack with costers.¹

(Apr. 8th, 1395) die Cene 29 tunics and hoods of russet cloth given at Tutbury (2/6 each) (= 73/8½), also 29 pr. of shoes (6d. per pr.) (= 14/6), and 13d. each in cash (= 31/5).

Mending a portifori in London cujus mensa frangebatur (4d.).²

Coton and orynalx bought at Coventry (8d.). Stramine p. lect.

Mending of two books dni quorum mensæ rumpebantur apud London (8d.).

Aqua rosarum de Damasc bought in London and sent to Henry at Hertford.

Making a fente of white fustian. 2 orynalx bought at Coventry (3d.).

1 pilwe of white leather stuffed with feathers. Carding coton for stuffing a doublet.

1½ lbs. of candlewax for Henry's clothes. 1 lb. of coton and 1 orynall (6d.). Cupboard. Table with tressles.

Wm. Chicheley³ for divers medicines⁴ bought for Lord by order of Master John Malvern medicus (31/10).

3 cultell'. 1 baselard. 1 dagger. 1 quarter papiri bought in London (6d.).

6 greyhounds (leporarii), collars for them (1/6). 1 large clothsak standard.

Spurrier.—1 pr. of spurs. 16 prs. of short boots with double soles (2/- per pr.). 4 prs. of galoshes (1/- per pr.).

18 prs. of chaussemblez (2/- pr.). 1 porthors. 1 missal. 1 Bible bound in pell de Roo Rub' (= red roe) edged with white pell garnis' with green silk (8/9 in toto).⁵

On account of the Young Lords and Ladies.

Summer gowns, cloaks, mantles. Scarlet gowns and caps. Fur. de Bysses, de Popil. Agnes Rokster one of their attendants. Maria Hervy⁶ is magistrissa of young lords.

Silver girdle for young Henry made like harebelles.⁷

New capistris canabi bought for them (2d.).

¹ DU CANGE, s. v.

² Vol. III., p. 233, note 1.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

⁴ Vol. IV., p. 153, note 4.

⁵ Vol. III., p. 233, note 1.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 327, note 7.

⁷ *Ibid.*, note 9.

7 libris grammaticæ in uno volumine contentis bought in London for young Henry (4/-).

6½ lbs. of sope bought in London Oct. 11 (1395) ad opus eorundem (1/1).

23 prs. of shoes (sotular') at 4d. per pr. (= 7/8). 4 prs. of boots (6d. pr. pair).

Thomas Ringwood coming from Ffawebourne to London to make 6 gowns for young lords, Sep.

1 mortar de Bras¹ bought in London July 22 p. lumine custodiendo per noctem in camera eorundem (1/6).

Journey from Bytham² to London and back for clothes and other things for young ladies causa expectationis dni July 1395. Taking them from Bytham to London for Christmas.

Class xxviii. Bundle 1. No. 5. *Wm. Loveney's Account from Feb. 1, 1397, to Feb. 1, 1398. Total = £1071 1s. 5d. received + £825 8s. 0½d. in hand. [N.B.—Nicompolis year missing between.]*

John Leventhorpe³ is receiver-general, John Dyndon⁴ is scissor robarum.

Dagges unius hauselyn de velvet.

Dagges unius gown de satyn cremesyn.

Dagging a gown of green and white velvet.

4 demigowns for the henksmen, blod' curt, linen in summer.

32 paupers die Cene⁵ at Tutbury pann. russet de Gales.

Motlee of Candlewick Street.

Mercers.—Offering in Carmelite Church in London at tomb of Lord de Mowbray father of Duke of Norfolk whose bones were brought from Rhodes.

4 "attabyes."⁶ Stuffing a basenett with red satyn. Do. red buckram. Cotton and cadas.

¹ Vol. II., p. 247; III., p. 327. Cf. "morter of wax."—HALLIWELL, 562. In 1289 Bp. Swinfield paid 9d. for j mortar and 5d. for tallow (cep' ad mortariol).—WEBB, CXXXVII., CCII., 41, 60.

² Vol. II., p. 436, note 2.

³ Called Leunthorpe in DERBY ACCTS., XLVII., XCII., 294, etc.

⁴ He went with Henry on his journeys to Prussia in 1390 and 1392.—DERBY ACCTS., LIII., XCII., and *passim*.

⁵ April 19, 1397; not 1398, as L. T. SMITH in DERBY ACCTS., 350.

⁶ Cf. pro j panno Attaby (1392), see DERBY ACCTS., 283, 355.

Embroidering a hauselyn of black velvet with rotulis, flowers, and leaves.

3 curtains and 1 traverse. 6 ells of white and green taffata for a ketelhat.

July 2nd, Adam Gastron¹ scissor robarum to young Henry. Tel' de Reynes for capitol'.

Sheets, pillowcovers, 3 eamus and 4 braces.

Agnes Rokster, 6 ells tel' de Reynes² for John and Humphrey at Tutbury (May 1397) for shirts.

Do. do. tel' de Flandr' for sheets.

Office of Wardrobe in Bishopsgate Street.³ Sumpterman.

Trussing 8 ells of Westuall' (= Westfal') in clothsakkes.

Auterclothes de Baldek aur' de Cypri.

1 ell 3 qrs. tissue cerici (= nigri) for spurs⁴ for Henry (young and old).

White wadmoll for covering barge.

Peltry.—Fur de Poleyn gryns. 229 martryns (*sic*) foynes. Fur Potes de Calabr'.

Saddler.—Panell sell' malar de Coppehous. New powche pro eadem sella. New pole⁵ for saddle. Sell' palfrid. 2 housyng sursengle. 1 mors d'arrest. 2 chakeles for traynelx.⁶

Armoureur.—1 pr. cirothecar⁷ de Plate. 1 pr. bras' de mayll. lorect'.

Goldsmith.—Silver collar⁸ fact' cum esses et floribus de soueigne voust de moy pendent' et amaill'.

1 Jakke de Hauselyn de fustian.

Silver seal with arms of St. Edward, England and Hereford, and name Duke of Hereford (36/9).⁹

£104 18s. 2d.¹⁰ in presents die circumcisonis. Peter Buckton, Rempston, Norbury, J. Leech and others deliver them.

¹ Vol. III., p. 328, note 1.

² Vol. II., p. 445, note 2.

³ Vol. IV., p. 140, note 4.

⁴ Vol. III., p. 328.

⁵ Vol. IV., p. 143, note 3.

⁶ Cf. "with foure white bolles in the trais."—CHAUC., KNIGHT, 2141; In cordis ad traynell (ijs).—WEBB, 181.

⁷ Vol. IV., p. 112, note 3. Cf. pro cirethecis emptis 1 ob. (1413).—SHROPSH. ARCHÆOL. SOC., 2nd Ser., Vol. IV., Pt. I. p. 107.

⁸ Vol. IV., p. 117, note 2.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 147, note 3.

¹⁰ Vol. II., p. 478, note 8.

1 par paternosters de corall cum Gaudees¹ aur'.

Painter.—Thomas Prince, painter, painting 4 banners (£4), shields. Do. standards of Bukram (13/4).

Painting 2 tartryn curtains for chapel (26/8).

Embroiderer.—Peter Swan, embroidering 9 labels with feathers on a cotearm' with arms of St. Edward (13/4).

Do. a Hauselyn of velvet with gold de Cypr' and flowers of soueigne vo^s de moy (£29 3s. 4d.).

From Eton Tregos² to London and back for divers harness, Humphrey, Blanche and Philippa.

Malemaker for a clothsak and a Barhyde for a clothsak.

Spurs of iron and laton.

Wm. Chicheley pr. 1 emplaustro (May 12, 1397)³ pro dorso domini levo (? levando) also $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. ros' arrid'.

Timber for piles for garden dni in Fleetstrete de Ledynhalle.⁴ Bundles of osiers to bind the rails.

Timber from Cripplegate and 160 turves pro herbario faciendo.

Lace for chasuble. Crucifix with Mary and John broidered for frontal of altars.

Buckram to line chasuble, frontal, stoles, corporas-case, fronters, parures, pilwe, albs. 1 orynell⁵ (1d.). 1 lib. papiri cireo lig' (1/4). Double iron chain pro leporariis dni (8d.). 1 cloth gown bought at Badbington and given to a poor boy per præceptum dni (2/4). 1 lb coton (6d.) pro talwinge Bargie⁶ dni erga parliamentum (3/4).

40 ells Wadmoll' de alb' in blod' for covering barge (2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per ell) (= 8/4).

11 oars (25/-). Bordis de elm (3/-). Hospitium dni in Bishopsgate St.⁷ Do. in Fleetstreet.

13 holughtyl (? hollowtiles) for chambers in do. (13d.). 1500 de Roonayl (1/6). 200 spriggs (2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.).

1 pynte mell' for cursar' (2d.). Furring a gown de Attaby aur' furr' de staur'.

¹ Vol. II., p. 357, note 1.

² *Ibid.*, p. 436, note 3.

³ Vol. IV., p. 153, note 6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 140, note 5.

⁵ Or "vrinals," as DERBY Accrs., 75, 91, 92, 281, 283, 358.

⁶ Vol. IV., p. 29, note 5.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 140, note 4.

Furring gown de Garters de scarlet, de velvet with martins fur de stauro.

5 lbs. of coton for a fustian hauselyn (2/6). Carding do '5d.). Doublet de fustian.

10 pell' de Roo for 1 pilche dni (6/-).

Agnes Shepster for 2 shirts and 2 bratts (brattis). Sheets of Reynes. Materas de buckram blod'. Silver Gredryrn. 2 oystere-knyves. 1 knevet.

Expensæ filiorum et filiarum domini.

Black houseselle for Henry. 1 pr. blankets do. (2/3). Black gowns with white sleeves for Blanche and Philippa. Katherine Puncherdon and Marye de Rodes are domicelles of Blanche and Philippa,¹ livery for them with fur de Popell. Gowns for two pages of chamber of Henry and Thomas. Green russet, white plunkett gowns for Henry.² White and blod' taffata and red tartryn for chaplets for Blanche and Philippa. Worsted for tapet for their rooms. Baldekyns de white damask silk, also gold de cypr' rub' erga Nat. 4 plyt telæ de lam' for capitogia. 2½ lbs. fil' colon (= Köln) (16d. per lb.) for Henry and Thomas.

Peltry.—Ventres de Bevers, foynes, fur de Byses de Pepill.

Clothsak et Barhyde.

1 par calig' and 2 bracēis (= 2od. altogether).

2 hattes straminis nigr' lat' (6/-) Henry and Thomas.³

p'. cordis cithararum empt p. cithara young Henry⁴ (8d.).

5 pr. boteux (8d. per pr.). Do. soles (4d.). Do. ocreor' (2d.)

Blanch and Philippa at Eton, Bytham, Hertford and Tutbury. Katherine Puncherdon for shaving (rasura)⁵ their heads (6d.).

Ibid., same Bundle and same No. (*i.e.*, 5) has Wm. Loveney's *Compotus* from Feb. 1, 1398, to Nov. 1, 1398, bound with previous but not separately noted in *Dept. Keep. 30th Rept.*, p. 36.

Hugh de Waterton is camerarius.

Jacobus Hensman and Richd. Doncaster going to Melan (*i.e.*, Milan) in neg' dni.

¹ Vol. II., p. 436.

² Vol. III., p. 328, note 1.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 327.

⁴ Vol. III., p. 332, note 5.

⁵ Vol. II., p. 436, note 4.

Panni russet de Wall' for 32 gowns to 32 paupers die Cenæ,
Ap. 4, 1398, at Gloucester.

12 ells of clothwebbes bought at Leicester for 3 soñ sell'.
Sell' Ambler. Steropes, rains.

6 lbs. fil de coton (*sic*) (5d.). Ink (1d.). Basket de wykeres.

Mending an Astirlabre de Laton [also Astirlable (*sic*)].

John Checheley for medicines bought London May 31, 1398.¹

2 shutyng gloves (4d.). 4 collars and a chain for harriers. 1
pell' corei de Hungr.

1 letter of king de passagio pro Francisco² de Court and
Richd. Doncaster to Milan (7/-).

1 horse from London to Walsingham for a messenger of Duke
of Burgundy bringing letters from France to Henry.

2 Coventry painters hired at Coventry working at Kenilworth
in preparations for les lystes night and day 5 days (6/8 all told),
also sissors de Coventry working at Kenilworth.

Shaving head of Humphrey (2d.). Young lords at Framingham
and Kenilworth.

2 bukskinns, pell' de goot.

Thomas Chicheley 6 lbs. flour de Canell' (8/-).

12 pieces of wypecorde. 6 Bodekynes. 1 brush for cleaning
heads of 3 young lords (3d.).

1 par de Belews. 1½ cwt. iron (at 5/6 per cwt.) (= 8/3). 3 stakes
bytornes made p. les Armes de Melan. Timber for rails for
garden in Bishopsgate.³

For **Class xxviii, Bundle 1, Nos. 6 and 7**, see DERBY
ACCTS. and PRUTZ.

Class xxviii. Bundle 1. No. 8. *Account of Simon Bache
Treasurer of Hostel from Oct. 1, 1397, to Sep. 30, 1398.*

*Total expense = £2205 11s. 10d. (household expenses for 1 year) in
addition to total in Wardrobe No. 5 ut supra.*

Eton ⁴ juxta Hinckley.

Coal, candles, fuel, carriage, wages of servants, salt.

¹ Vol. III., p. 136, note 1.

² Vol. II., p. 309, note 3.

³ Vol. IV., p. 140, note 4.

⁴ *I.e.*, Nuneaton. — DUGDALE,
WARW., II., 1066.

Hire of horses, plaice, codlings, large crabs, barbel, mackerel, mussels, trout, eels, herrings, roach, soles, whelks (8d. per 200), shrimps (2d.), pickerell.

Mending ladles, pots, plates, racks, brooches, cupboards, calves, turf, faggots, billets, talwood, carbon (= 4d.; 1 lb. = 2d.), peyll (? pail), swep to make pastry, watercress (2d.), grinding 1 hausaxe and 1 dressing knife, paper, cardboard, broyllos (?), 1 pr. botell galons, 1 pr. botell poteller.

Class xxviii. Bundle 3. No. 4. *John Leventhorp Receiver for Henry E. of Derby, acct. from Mar. (? May) 1, 1391, to Jan. 31st (not 1st as in 30 Rept. D. K., p. 37), 1392 [i.e., after return from Prussia].*

Total receipt = £3315 10s. 7½d. Total expenditure = £1949 7s. 5½d.

Peterbro' Oct. 29, Dec. 29, 1391; Jan. 28, 30, 1392.

Bolingbroke ¹ May 13, July 10, 1391.

Leicester May 12, 1391, to Countess Maria consorti dni.

To John Norbury, esq. ² dni (£20) p. a. Robert Waterton has £6 13s. 4d. p. a. Johanna Waryn nurse to Henry fil' dni primogenit' (40/- p. a.). Johanna Donnesmere ³ nurse of Thomas and John (40/- p. a.).

Wm. Gascoigne ⁴ sergeant retent' de consilio dni by letter dated Peterbro' Dec. 4, 1391, fee (= 20/- p. a.) (+ 26/8) reward ultra feodum.

Also Richd. Gascoigne ⁵ Henry's attorney in King's Exchequer (6/8).

Class xxviii. Bundle 3. No. 5.

(a) = Leventhorp's acct. from Feb. 1, 1392, to Feb. 1, 1393, for Henry, E. of Derby, Hereford and Northampton. Total receipt = £3161 4s. 3¼d. Total expense = £2023 8s. 3½d. [N.B.—Voyage to Pruce, Venice and Jerusalem = July 25th, 1392, to July 26th, 1393.]

London Feb. 16, May 8, Dec. 12, 1392; Jan. 21, 1393.

Leicester July 2, 1392; Jan. 2, 16, 1393.

¹ Vol. IV., p. 8, note 4.

² Vol. III., p. 43, note 12.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 326, note 7.

⁴ Vol. II., p. 182, note 4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 358, note 6.

Peterbro' Jan. 26, Feb. 28, Mar. 5, 8, May 10, 25, June 1, July 5, 12, Aug. 1, 20, Sep. 26, Nov. 29, Dec. 1, 4, 22, 1392; Jan. 1, 1393.

Sutton (Beds.) May, 1392; Dec. 8, 1392. Barkway (Herts.) June 5, 1392.

Wardington Mar. 9, 1392. Hallingbury (Essex) Feb. 24, 1392. Daventry Oct. 6, 1392. Stamford May 29, 1392. York Oct. 20, Nov. 12, 14, 1392.

Northampstead (Herts.) Feb. 27, Dec. 9, 1392.

Sir Thomas de Hungerford farms the manor of Upavon.

Thomas Oldcastle¹ is Sheriff of Hereford. Hugh de Monington is late Sheriff.

Hugh de Waterton miles camararius dni farms manor of Uggelee (*i.e.*, Ugley) Essex.

Lynn² July 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 1392, p. *frecto unius navis a portu de Dansk in Prucia to Kingston on Hull with wardrobe dni et parte familie sue*. Rich. Kingston is Thes. hospitii p. secundo viagio suo versus partes Prucie.

Bolingbroke May 13, 1391 (*sic*).

Quittance to Maria Countess consorti dni at Peterbro' Oct. 8, 1392.

Willm. Gascoigne³ sergeant retained of council (ut sup.) also Richd. Gascoigne⁴ ut sup.

Hertford Jan. 10, 1394.

Wm. Gascoigne appeared for Henry at an assise novæ disseisine brought by Elizbth. de Nevil at Bedford Thursday next after St. Margt. Virgin (= July 13) 16 R. II. (= 1392) de libero ten' suo in Potton (= hamlet of Pottonholme).

3 quarters of paper (= 2/1). Hospitium dni apud Peterbro'.

(b) = *Leventhorp's acct. from Feb. 1, 1393, to Feb. 1, 1394. Total rect. = £2409 17s. 11¼d. Total expenses = £2342 os. 7d.*

Passenham in com. Northants. Soham (Cambridgeshire). Stoke Dabernon (Surrey).

Peterbro' May 25, 1392; July 1, 1393; Nov. 6, 1393; Jan. 23, 24, 1394.

¹ Vol. III., p. 292, note 10.

² Vol. IV., p. 107, note 3.

³ Vol. II., p. 182.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 358.

Re purchases by Wm. Loveney for second voyage to Pruce, bought from May 12 to Aug. 1, 1392.

Countess Maria gives quittance in London July 6, Oct. 25, 1393.

Margt. ¹ nurse to Humphrey (£6 13s. 4d.).

Pontefract Aug. 26, 1393. Hertford Jan. 10, 11, 1394.

John Derby herald of Henry to King of Hungary (£13 6s. 8d.).²

London Oct. 26, Nov. 17, 1393; Jan. 30, Feb. 19, 1394.

Falcon (£5). Johannæ Waryn ³ nurse to young Henry.

Wm. and Richd. Gascoyne as above. John Skydmere ⁴ is lieutenant of Seneschal of Brecon.

(c) *Leventhorp's acct. from Feb. 1, 1394, to Feb. 1, 1395. Total receipt = £1999 18s. 0½d. Total expenses = £1259 17s. 9½d.*

Malcolm de la Mare ⁵ is late Sheriff of Hereford. Thos. Walwayn now Sheriff.

Wychemalbank May 7, 1394.

Peterbro' July 18, Mar. 28, May 24, 1394.

£40 dnæ Mariæ Countess consort at Peterbro' May 18, 1394.⁶
5/- to her for 6 lbs. of popynjaysed.⁷

Hertford Nov. 23, 1394. Leicester Jan. 6, 1395. Pontefract Ap. 20, 1394.

Isabel Stanes nurse to Blanche (£10).

To a clerk from Prague in Bohemia bringing a bow from Prague sent ex parti Her' Bergo ⁸ milite.

Ludovico de Port merch. of Lucca 7 botes vini de Tiro (= Tyre HALLIWELL, s. v. MALVESIA, II., 539) (containing 6 botes and 13 cestres (= sextary or 6 gals.—ROGERS, I., 619) at 108/- le but. Also a Rondelet of Rumney ⁹ (20/-).

Tempore quo dominus extitit in partibus Devon.

£5 to a pursuivant bringing letters from the king of Hungary Nov. 9, 1394.¹⁰

¹ Vol. III., p. 326, note 7.

² *Ibid.*, p. 302, note 5.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 326, note 7.

⁴ Vol. II., p. 297, note 9.

⁵ *I.e.*, 16 R. II.—DUNCUMB, I., 143, where he is called Masere de la Mare.

⁶ Vol. III., p. 327, note 8.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 325, note 5.

⁸ (?) Bergow.—PALACKY, Doc., 609, 621, 696; Vol. IV., p. 138, note 7.

⁹ Vol. II., p. 447, note 13.

¹⁰ Vol. III., p. 402, note 5.

13/4 to a clerk bringing a pair of gloves sent ex parte epi sci Nichi¹ novi collegii de Marie de Leycestre.

40/- cuidam homini presenting a cithara to Henry.

Horses and leporarii sent to Count de Vertus Jan. 29, 1395.

Johanna Donnesmore² nutrici (40/-). William Lecham³ valecto cameræ filiorum dni (40/-).

Wm. and Richd. Gascoigne ut sup. Hugh Waterton going ab hospitio suo de Eton to London.

Inquisition at Branktre (= Braintree) for manor of Wetherfield Parva and Halingbury (Essex).

John Skidmere Lt of Brecon ut sup.

Class xxviii. Bundle 3. No. 6. *Journal de anno XII. Comp. Bache*⁴ begun Oct. 1, 1396. [N.B.—*Meeting of Richard II. and Charles VI. at Ardes for marriage of Isabel. Battle of Nicopolis = Sep. 25th, 1396.—Vol. III., p. 261, note 14.*]

Oct. 1, 1396, acct. for eels, roach, chevenchubb, schastell, weyewell, tench, lamprons, crabs, ling, plaice, thornbacks, calves, etc., bought at Kenilworth.

John Palmer sent from Leicester to Butt' (*i.e.*, Boston) for £126 13s. 4d. argenti. Wm. Galby and 1 horse sent from Tutbury to Butt' for said argent' dni. Hiring horse from Derby to Lincoln. Guide showing way between Revesby Abbey and Boston for safe conduct of said money (6d.).

Nov. 1, St. Nicholas clerks singing sospitati in vigil. ejusdem. before John and Humphrey at Kenilworth (20d.).

Nov. 5, carts of Outon carrying part of harness dicti hospitii dni from Outon to Tutbury.

Expenses of Henry Bursten sent from Tutbury to Bolingbroke for Earl's money (Dec. Jan., 1395).

Boat from Byrksted to Martindyke. Breaking ice on Martindyke (10d.). Guide from Boll (? Bolingbroke) to Extombe (?) bringing it to Tutbury. Jan. 8, minstrels playing cum equis suis in presence of young lords at Tutbury Jan. 1 (20d.). A minstrel

¹ Vol. III., p. 218, note 2.

² *Ibid.*, 326, note 7.

³ Vol. III., p. 327, note 8.

⁴ DERBY ACCTS., xci.

called Wilkin Walkin¹ making minstralsie in presence of young lords at Epiphany (6d.).

Thomas de Lanc' stays in hostel dnæ de Audeley Sep. 14, Dec. 8 (? 1395) baiting horses.

Nov. 12, J. Walter sent with a horse from Tutbury to Pleshy ad Henricum de Lanc' fil dni Mar. 18 (2/-).

Dec. 2, 1 topcloth, racks, mangers, iron hasps, $\frac{1}{2}$ stope of wine bought at Calais p. diversis fa. dni eunt. pedestr'. usque Gynes Oct. 18 (2d.).

Dec. 3, pay candles, oats, medicines for sick horses bought at Calais Nov. 3rd.

Robert Waterton, cost of 10 horses existentes cum dnō' apud Seyntomers p. 1 noct. mens. Oct. carrying divers harness of wardrobe dnī from St. Omer to Gynes Oct. 31.

P. lot' (= washing) divers panni dnī apud Gynes.

Isabel Launder² fuel and soap for washing his clothes Nov. 4 bought at Calais.

Do. hiring 1 patell' and 1 tub for her office (6d.).

1 hen bought at Calais for falcon dni. Oct. 31.

John Tylton expenses for part of lord's fam. (*i.e.*, familia) exist. cum dno apud Calys from Oct. 2nd to end of the month, bread, meat, beer, fish and other victuals.

Dec. 4, carrying lord's harness from Calais to Guisnes beginning of October.

Carrying divers harness of lord from Calais to Guisnes and also from his hostel there (*i.e.*, Calais) usque navem both at time of his arrival and return, by agreement there made Nov. 8.

Nov. 3, 1 tubbe p. butir' custodiendo.

Nov. 3, baiting 7 horses between Ickham juxta Canterbury and London.

Green canvas (?) for 1 countyng cloth.

1 lb. blakke soap (1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.). 1 tubbe to hold meat (4d.).

Dec. 2, cloth bought at Hickhām (? = Ickham) Oct. 2.

Oats bought at Sandwich Oct. 12. Carrying oats from Selmeston to Hickham.

¹ Vol. III., p. 328, note 2.

| ² Vol. II., p. 51, note 1.

Dec. 5, bait for 5 malars and 1 cursar dni eunt. de Calys usque Sandwich Nov. 4.

Oats bought at Canterbury Nov. 5. Do. at Hickham Nov. 5.
Capons, fieldfares,¹ pullets.

Dec. 6, from Hickham to London Nov. 22.

Dec. 7, bait dni et partis familie sue at Newenton (= Newington) Nov. 18. Cloves, vinegar, sugar, ginger and mustard.

Dec. 8, bait dni at Ospringe Nov. 19. Bait of a somar del cuphouse at different places between London, Canterbury and Dover.

Dec. 9, whiting, codling, pike. In London by Nov. 26 apparently.

Dec. 10, bait and shoeing of horses from London to Wyndesorde (Windsor) Nov. 27. Oats for a hackney at Colbrook² 2 nights and 1 day. 1 teal, 1 snyte, 1 plover, 8 larks (total = 6d.).

Bait dni et pt. fa. su. at Brayneford Nov. 26. 1 pr. forscheres.

Dec. 11, 1 lb. candles bought at Deptford Nov. 15. 24 bottles of hay for 4 horses at Maidenhead 2 days.

Dec. 12, shipping 1 standard with saddles dni. 1 dol. and 1 pipe full of oats from Calais to London Dec. 8.

Cranage, windage, cartage and carriage of same from del Wolkey³ to hospitium dni (2/-).

Bait dni, etc., at Endevid⁴ vig. St. Andrew (= Nov. 29, 1396). Bait of cursars, summars and malars, etc., at different places between London, Hertford and Windsor.

Dec. 13, hay bought at Waltham. Dec. 16 (*sic*), horse called Lyard Gilder lying ill at Calais. 1 cursar coming from France for hastilud' at London.

Dec. 14, hay bought at Wyndesoñe Sent albons. Jan. 20, horse called Sorell Blackwell is sick.

Dec. 15, 1 qr. oats bought at Hertford. Feb. 4, carrying hay from Tylehouses to Hertford (1/4). Do. from Bengoe to Hertford (3/8).

Dec. 16, expenses dni et part. fam. su. in London from Jan. 6-13 temp. parliamenti (£9 11s. 0½d.).

Do. London Jan. 19-29 (? 1397).

¹ Vol. III., p. 152, note 8.

² Colnbrook.

³ = Woolquay.

⁴ Enfield.

Apr. 1 (*i.e.*, 1397), Thos. de Lanc. fil. dni. John Beall sent from Calais to Dover to find hbrg' mens. novemb. Thos. Furour at Calais from Oct. 1-13. Hay bought at Canterbury, Ospringe, Rooly(?) and Deptford. Nov. 16-20, do. at Broughton nr. Canterbury. Do. for le cursars at Newenton. Do. Hertford, Lonoo (? Konoo), Wyndeforde and other places with dnō Feb. 24-May 28.

J. Wilb'm with horses at Hickham (= Ickham), Dover and Sandwich Oct. 1-Nov. 20.

Ap. 7, Thos. Uphill and his 2 companions with dnō at Calais from Oct. 1-Nov. 2nd.

Ap. 8, John Tiptoft¹ wages infra curiam from Oct. 1 to Mar. 31 (7½d. p. d.) = £4 16s. 3d. (154 days).

May 3, 18 marybons² (3/-) p. pedibus 4 vitulorum (4d.).

May 18, Thomas Remeston³ mil. wages infra cur. Oct. 1-Mar. 31 (12d. p. d.) = 56/- (56 days).

May 20, grayling bought. May 21, Henry Bushen wages extra curiam at Hickham in service dni from Oct. 5 to Nov. 19. Do. wages sent from Kenilworth to Calais ad doñ dni Lanc' cum 1 pipa servie (? = cerevisiæ) from Aug. 30 to Sep. 26. Do. carriage and boatage of same pipe from London to Dover and from Dover to Calais (34/4).

May 24, 2 bremes (4/-). June 2nd, offering at High Mass in presence dni at Hertford (3/4).

July 1, otemonger. Sep. 3, 450 pottes terr' (24/-). Isabel Launder p. feodo suo Oct. 1-Sep. 30 (40/-).

Sep. 5, Mary Grimston hemming divers mappas and toweles (3/3). Elizabeth Semest' do. cupclothes (1/-).

Sep. 8, Simon Bache wages (10d. p. d.) his 12th year (£13 18s. 4d. p. qr.). Sep. 9, welks, salmon.

Derby herald has 7½d. p. day.

Sep. 10, Henry Filoughly in service dni at Ickham, Dover and elsewhere from Oct. 1 to Dec. 31.

Sep. 11, Hospit' dni in Fleetstreet,⁴ to John Prince peyntour, painting 13 curlews, 13 columbell', 13 popinjays, with silver and

¹ Vol. II., p. 414, note 4; Vol. IV., p. 142, note 14.

² = Marrowbones.

³ Vol. II., p. 480, note 1.

⁴ Vol. IV., p. 140, note 2.

gold and other colours pro convivio (2od. each) (= 65/-). 8 men working at said soteltes¹ 2 days (6d. p. day) (= 8/-). J. Algate working said soteltes in paste 4 days (10/-). Making 40 wooden platters for them (3/2).

Sep. 12, 560 merlins (31/4). 1060 herrings (25/-). 34 bremes de mer (10/-).

Sep. 13, disselerage, cranage, cartage, copage and sellerage.

Sep. 19, p. 3 bagg' correis p. pulvere imponendo (9d.). Sep. 20, Thomas Remeston mil. wages (= 1/- p. d.) Ap. 1 to Sep. 30. Wm. Bagot mil. do. (1/- p. d.). John Tiptoft (7d. p. d.).

Class xxviii. Bundle 4. No. 1. J. Leventhorp's acct. General Receiver de terris et possessionibus que sue fuerunt ante coronationem suam a festo Pur. Beat. Mar. anno regni regis Ricardi xxii. = Feb. 2, 1399, to Feb. 2, 1400, also Feb. 2, 1400, to Feb. 2, 1401. Total receipt = £4770 4s. 8d. Total expense = £4348 15s. 0½d.

Hugh Waterton² receiver denarior' p. p'hendinacione Humphrey, Blanche and Philippa.

Wardlington (?) (Bucks.). Passenham (Northants.). Thomas Clanvove late sheriff of Hereford.

Edmund Bugge³ messenger from Paris to London, Windsor (and back) to King Richard (10 mks. p. a.).

Sir Peter Buckton⁴ and John Dindon had denarios for household in their charge in absence of receiver.

Letter dated Paris, May 23, 1399. John Elvet Archdeacon of Leicester lent £66 13s. 4d.

Letter dated Coventry, Aug. 26, 1399. Abbot of Gloucester lent Henry £66 13s. 4d. on his passage abroad.

40 marks p. a. to John Norbury⁵ and Petronilla his wife. 20 mks. p. a. to Robert Waterton. 10 mks. do. to John Waterton.

Thomas Rempston mil. (£20 p. a.). Thomas Erpingham⁶ mil. (100 mks. p. a.).

¹ Vol. III., p. 214, note 5.

² Vol. II., p. 292, note 4; DERBY ACCTS., 5, 135, 139, 268.

³ Vol. IV., p. 116, note 7. DUC.

LANC. REC., XI, 15, 97, grants him £40 p. a., Sept. 30, 1402.

⁴ Vol. IV., p. 142.

⁵ Vol. III., p. 44, note.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 295, note 1.

Manor of Kilburn (Yorks.) granted to Sir Peter Buckton.¹

Johannæ Waryn nutrici (5 mks. p. a.). Juliana Rokster (40/- p. a.). Franciscus de Cur² (£20 p. a.).

Simon Mone³ is dead. John Cockayne chief steward dni regis. Total annuities (£518 3s. 4d. + £28 6s. 8d.).

Simon Bache late Treas. of hostel dni.

Humphrey, Blanche and Philippa stayed at Eton Tregoz⁴ with Hugh Waterton when Henry was abroad, with a chaplain to say mass for the soul of their mother in their presence. Thomas Rothwell clerk was informans to Humphrey. Katharine Puncherdon bought their shoes pro sinigmate, got black liveries (May, 1399) from London when their grandfather died. For their lotrix and 4/11 for their offerings.

Expenses of John staying at Waltham. John Davy from London to Dover to hear of Henry's arrival end of June 1399.

Goldsmith for making 6 cressants and 21 cressants. Langley is executor of John of Gaunt's will.

Hostel in Aldermanbury.

Thomas Prince paints shield and 2 banners with arms (40/-), and 2 pennons of king's livery (40/-).

rooo pengel of ostrich feathers silver et wound (*sic*) with a gilt roll and French scriptura *Ma sovèigne* (8d. each) (= £33 6s. 8d.).

Richd. Whittington has vessels of late Wm. le Scrop valued at £96 12s. 9d. in pledge.

Leventhorp's acct. from Feb. 2, 1400, to Feb. 2, 1401.

David Welkes hermit of Dover (40/- p. a.) granted 1399.

Richard Gascoigne⁵ capitalis seneschallus dni Regis. John Waking Henry's attorney for Duchy of Lancs.

Shepster, hatmaker.

Class xxviii. Bundle 4. No. 2. *Leventhorp's acct. Feb. 2, 1401, to Feb. 2, 1402, also from Feb. 2, 1402, to Feb. 2, 1403.*

Executors of John Skidmere⁶ late escheator co. Hereford.

John Leventhorp coming from Brecon to Hereford with Sir

¹ Vol. IV., p. 142, note 4.

² = Court.

³ Vol. III., p. 133, note 11.

⁴ Vol. II., p. 436, note 2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 358, note 7.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 298, note.

Hugh Waterton to speak with king Henry at Wallingford,¹ May 24, 1401. Waterton has violet robe furred with byse for livery.

Sir John Dabryecoat² (*sic*) was with king from his late arrivacione in England.

Servast de Wadersey and Simon de Skeve merchants of Dionant³ in Germany.

10,000 lbs. of pure copper (each centene of 120 lbs. = 27/-) to make a great gun⁴ (£135) Feb. 18, 1402.

A leaden standard to hold ink⁵ (1/-).

Leventhorp's acct. Feb. 2, 1402, to Feb. 2, 1403.

Thomas Swynford⁶ mil. is Sheriff of Lincoln. Reasonable aid for Blanche (= £401 10s. 10d.).

John Leventhorp from London to Lincoln to speak with Duchesse of Lancaster⁷ between June 21 and July 3, 1402.

Do. from his home at Ugley⁸ (Essex) to the king at Darley⁹ in Derbyshire from Aug. 15 to 30, 1402.

By 30th Aug., 1402, king is at Kenilworth.¹⁰

Do. travelling from London to Winchester tempore¹¹ spon-salium dni Regis ad deliberandum sibi et deinde usque Farnam¹² to speak with king by his desire.

300 ells of green cloth de vere or scarlet cloth furred with miniver for robes for Hugh Waterton mil camar'.

Thos. Skelton mil. } chief stewards. John Wakering, chan-
Rich. Gascoigne¹³ } cellor. John Leventhorp, general receiver.

Thos. Somercotes } auditors clericis Simonis Gaunstede de
John Benyngton } cancellar'.

¹ Vol. I., p. 207.

² *I.e.*, Dabridgecourt. — Vol. III., p. 167, note 6.

³ Vol. II., p. 267, note 6. Din-ant, Dyonantum. — OESTERLEY, 126; not Dionant as GRAESSE, 238.

⁴ See also DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 15, 123.

⁵ Vol. III., p. 152, note 4.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 260, note 4.

⁷ *I.e.*, Katharine Swinford. — Vol. III., p. 259, note 4.

⁸ DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 13, 98, 53, has grant to him and his wife Katharine of town of Uggelee, dated May 17, 1402, also to be Constable of Odiham Castle.

⁹ See Vol. I., p. 285, App. FF.

¹⁰ See App. FF.

¹¹ = Feb. 7, 1403.

¹² = Farnham, Feb. II, 1403 (RELIQUARY, Jan., '87, p. 10). — Vol. II., p. 288, note.

¹³ Vol. II., p. 358, note 7.

Whipcord to tie bags at Kenilworth.

Per manus John Tiptoft mil. receiving denarios at Eltham
Feb. 17, 1403.

Thos. Ringwood receiving do. apud logeam parci de Windsor
May 5, 1403.

£300 to Treas. of England for reasonable aid for Blanche
July 3, 1403.

Gerard Ufflete¹ mil. and his men with king in primo adventu
suo in Angliam.

Class xxviii. Bundle 4. No. 3. *Leventhorp's acct.,*
Feb. 2, 1403, to Feb. 2, 1404.

John Rochfort² late vic. Lincs.

Roger Leche³ mil. has custody and marriage of Richard son of
Richard Vernon⁴ mil. Sutton in Holland (Linc.). John Bentley
occupator manerii de Briddesgwne (= Bridesgrave) in com. Surrey.

Isabel Launder⁵ (6d. p. day).

Richard Gascoigne⁶ chief steward for all Lancaster manors
North of Trent and Linc., Leicest., Notts., Warw., and Northants.
£40 p. feodo suo, travels from Lincoln usque domum ipsius Ricardi
apud Hunslett (Yorks), Feb., 1403.

John Findern is oppositor forinsec' excætar' in scaccario.

Thomas Swinbourne⁷ mil. is vic. Essex.

Green cloth for table for computations of general receiver.

Thomas Chaucer, Esq., £40 p. a. p. lands of Honor of
Leicester.

To Robert Brettr. John Rich, Thomas de la Crois,⁸ Christopher
de Rys, James Hoget (all Esquires), to cover losses sibi illatis at
Shrewsbury from £6 13s. 4d. to £13 6s. 8d. each.

Pd. to King per manus suas proprias in Lombarde Street
London Jan. 31, 1404.

King at St. Albans May 5, 1404.

¹ Vol. IV., p. 142, note 15.

² (?) Ralph.—Vol. II., p. 228,
note 6.

³ Vol. II., p. 229, note 8.

⁴ Beheaded July 23, 1403.—Vol.
I., p. 364.

⁵ Vol. II., p. 51, note 1.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 358, note 7.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 302, note 4.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 172, note 3.

P. stuffura castri de Kidwelly¹ (under Thomas Farneclough) receiver at Kidwelly.

6 lauricis (*sic*) (114/-). 6 basinettes with avantailles (114/-). 6 pr. of vanbraces (4/- per pr.) (= 24/-).

6 prs. of gloves (4/- p. pr.) (24/-). 12 lances with heads (22d. each = 22/-). 6 polhaxes (21d. each) (11/-).

40 bows and 80 sheaf of arrows (£8). 2 cannon² (12/- each = 24/-). 40 lbs. of gunpowder for same with 1 cadus and 1 бага to hold same (40/-). 1000 quarrell' (7/- per 100) (70/-).

P. 1000 pejoribus quarrellis³ (16/-). 1 pipe 2 coffres de pruce and 4 barrells for sending divers harness from London to Kidwelly (25/-). 12 doz. strings for bows (6d. per doz.) (6/-).

6 arblasts 18 cords 1 wyndas 1 belt for same (40/-).

6 jakkes de defence⁴ (24/4 each) (£7). Carrying all harness to Hugh Waterton's hostel (24d.). 1 carecta hired from London to Bristol (46/8).

Brecon about double, together with 6 cannon cum 2 ferris vocat. touches⁵ (£4).

20 lbs. saltpetre (1/- per lb.) (20/-). 10 lbs. sulphur (= 10d.).

20 arblasts with 60 strings. 1 hauspee⁶ pro eisdem tendendis (2/6).

20 lbs. of thread for strings pro eisdem balistis (6d. per lb.) (10/-).

12 brestplattes (£7 5s. 4d.). 1 tonell ad imponend' les Arblastes and carrying from the Ropery to the coopers house. Barrel for gunpowder and sulphur not mixed.

Forwarding harness to Gloucester.

Carriage from Gloucester to Brecon (incomplete) (27/4) from roll No. 4.

Class xxviii. Bundle 4. No. 4. (a) *Leventhorp's acct.*,

Feb. 2, 1404, to Feb. 2, 1405.

Lanæ dni regis sold to William Brekespere citizen of London at Aldeborn (4 H. IV.) (= £38 5s. od.).⁷

¹ Vol. II., p. 7, note 3.

² *Ibid.*, p. 267, note 8.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 93, note 5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 347, note 5. Cf.

DERBY ACCTS., pp. 106, 338.

⁵ Vol. II., p. 447, note 11.

⁶ Vol. III., p. 41, note 12.

⁷ Vol. IV., p. 12, note 4.

Nothing from Monmouth, Ogmores, Ebbboth, Kidwelly, Iskenny, Brecon.¹ Summa = nichil.

Executors of J. Skidmere² late escheator of Hereford.

John Pelham³ mil. 100 mks. p. a. from Honor of Pevensey.

King at Nottingham⁴ May 26, 1404.

Clerk forinsec' extractarum in Scaccario. Robes of murrey or sanguin furred with miniver.

King at St. Albans⁵ Apr. 3rd, 1405 (letter dated). (?) Barnet⁶ Nov. 29, 1404, also Mar., 1405.

(b) = *Leventhorp's acct.*, Feb. 2, 1405, to Feb. 2, 1406. Total *recept.* = £1732 6s. 8½d. Total *exp.* = £1454 4s. 6½d.

Higham Ferrers⁷ is a manor of Duchy of Lancs. also Sutton and Westerton.

Welsh manors still *nil.* Thomas Stanley Chancellor of Duchy of Lancs. (£40 p. a.).

Breakfast for Clerks of Chancery at Westminster temp. *scrutationis predictae* (6/8).

Expenses of R. Southwell and others with him at Lambeth waiting arrival of John Wolf (rod.).

John Greyndore⁸ mil. has custody of castle and town of Monmouth also castle of Monmouth from Christmas, 1405, to Christmas, 1406.

King at St. Albans Apr., 1405, at Pontefract⁹ Aug. 7 H. IV. (*sic*) = 1406.

Class xxviii. Bundle 4. No. 5. (a) *Leventhorp's acct.*, Feb. 2, 1406, to Feb. 2, 1407.

Welsh manors still *nil.* John Merbury¹⁰ is vic. Hereford pro *financia*¹¹ comitis de Douglas (£233 6s. 8d.).

¹ Vol. II., p. 14, note 8; p. 308, note 11; Vol. III., p. 271, note 5.

² Vol. II., p. 19, note 3; p. 298, note.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 46, note 9.

⁴ See Vol. I., pp. 437, 448. For a document dated at Leicester May 16, 1404, see KUNZE, 190.

⁵ Vol. II., p. 52, note 5.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 52, note 3.

⁷ Vol. III., p. 135, note 4.

⁸ Vol. II., p. 304, note 6.

⁹ The King was then at Lynn.

Vol. II., p. 448, note 13. The year should probably be 1405.

¹⁰ Vol. IV., p. 144, note 3.

¹¹ Vol. II., p. 397, note 8.

Annuities = £293 11s. 9½d. Thomas Stanley is Chancellor of Duchy Lancs.

John Sakespee clk. forinsec' extractarum in Scaccario.

6 prs. of legharneys¹ for castle of Monmouth (10/- per pr.).
6 prs. of rerebraces (2/- p. pr.) (= 12/-).

Coffer called pruskist.²

(b) = *Leventhorp's acct. from Feb. 2, 1407, to Feb. 2, 1408.*

Manor of Briddesgrave (Surrey). Welsh manors *nil*. John Oldcastle³ is vic. Hereford.

Reasonable aid⁴ (Blanche) (= £4 6s. 8d.). Richard Arundel⁵ mil. is capt. of King's castle de la Haye.

Class xxviii. Bundle 4. No. 6. (a) *Leventhorp's acct. from Feb. 2, 1408, to Feb. 2, 1409.*

Manor of Bridesgrave Surrey. Monmouth yields £90, Ogmores and Ebboth £6 13s. 4d., other Welsh manors *nil*.

Reasonable aid (Blanche) (= 65/7¼).

To Dean and Canons of Colleg' de Marie Leicester⁶ 100 mks. (£66 13s. 4d.) for repair of cloister, houses, walls, and other works of same church not yet fully completed. Renewed 1409, 1411, 1413.

T. Stanley is cancellarius Ducatus.

Robert Hill⁷ sergeant *nil* quia electus erat in Justiciar' immediatè post Pascha (*i.e.*, 1408). Do. Robert Tyrwhit⁸ sergeant. Both are of council of Duchy.

Thomas Freseby sergeant died before Easter (*i.e.*, 1408).

Breakfast for council of Duchy at Westminster Nov. 25, 1409.
Gloucester Castle⁹ Nov. 6, 1407. Sutton¹⁰ (King's manor) May 26, 1408.

Tower of London¹¹ May 29, 1408. Waltham Abbey¹² Aug. 16, 1408. Greenwich Jan. 31, 1409.

¹ Cf. legge harneis.—WYCL. (A),
ii., 367.

² Vol. II., p. 445, note 6.

³ Vol. III., p. 111, note 6.

⁴ Vol. II., p. 438, note 9.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 307, note 1.

⁶ Vol. III., p. 236, note 8.

⁷ Foss, iv., 328.

⁸ Vol. II., p. 189, note 2.

⁹ Vol. III., p. 114, note 6.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 158, note 12.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 159, note 7.

(b) = *Leventhorp's acct.*, Feb. 2, 1409, to Feb. 2, 1410.

Ogmore and Ebbboth yield £6. Rest = nil.

Sutton in Holland (Linc.). Reasonable aid¹ (Blanche) (£6 13s. 4d.).

Robes of murrey engrained for livery of Council.

Richard Frampton for parchment *limnatura et scriptura cujusdam*² portos regis in duobus voluminibus ad usum proprium ipsius regis (£25 14s. 6d.).

Greenwich, Feb. 24, 1409.³

Class xxviii. Bundle 4. No. 7. (a) Feb. 2, 1411, to Feb. 2, 1412. Total receipt = £2657 2s. 8d.

Farmer of Bridesgrave (£7). Monmouth (= £213 6s. 8d.). Ogmore (£37). Kidwelly (£143 6s. 8d.). Brecon (£625).⁴

Reasonable⁵ aid (Blanche) (£4 6s. 10d.).

2 lagenæ and 1 potill of wine for Council (*i.e.*, of Duchy) meeting twice at St. Paul's from Mich. anno xii. (21d.).

Fur de byce for robes.

Eltham⁶ Feb. 1, 1412. Rotherhithe⁷ May 21, 1411. Sub signeto suo de aquila.

Stratford Abbey⁸ July 31, 1411. Lambeth⁹ Sep. 20, 1411. Charlton¹⁰ Jan. 28, 1412. Beauregard¹¹ May 5, 1412.

(b) = *Leventhorp's acct.* Feb. 2, 1412, to Feb. 2, 1413. No general total receipt.

Monmouth (£173 6s. 8d.). Ogmore (£30 os. od.). Kidwelly (£213 6s. 8d.). Brecon (£900 13s. 4d.).¹²

Thos. Derham member of Council (Duchy).

Croydon¹³ Nov. 10, 13, 30, 1412. Greenwich¹⁴ Feb. 5, 1413.

Class xxviii. Bundle 4. No. 8. *Leventhorp's acct.* Feb. 2, 1413, to Feb. 2, 1414. Total receipt = £5725 15s. 9d. Total expenses = £5408 13s. 2½d.

¹ Vol. II., p. 438, note 9.

² Vol. III., p. 232, note 7.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 243, note 7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 272, note 1.

⁵ Vol. II., p. 438, note 9.

⁶ Vol. IV., p. 52, note 7.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 28, note 11.

⁸ Vol. IV., p. 29, note 2.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 30, note 1.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 52, note 6.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 52, note 15.

¹² Vol. III., p. 272, note 1.

¹³ Vol. IV., p. 101, note 2.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 103, note 3.

Henry IV. granted castle of Pevensey¹ and Honour of the Eagle to Sir J. Pelham for life Feb. 24, 1409.

Castle of Hertford granted to Queen for life.

Northampsted in com. Hertford.

£20 (each) fee farm from cos. Lincoln, Northampton, Derbyshire, Hereford.

Reasonable aid for Blanche = *nil*.

John Stanley has wardship and marriage of John son and heir of William del Mere of Liverpool.

Katharine Puncherdon grant of 6 marks p. a. for life.

Hugh Mortimer made camar' ducat. Lanc. Jan. 1404 at £40 p. a.

¹ Vol. II., p. 46, note 9.

APPENDIX B.

Q. R. (= QUEEN'S REMEMBRANCER) WARDROBE ACCOUNTS.

Q. R. Wardrobe $\frac{68}{1}$.

Indenture dated London May 29, 1400, shows that Thos. Tutbury Treas. of Hostel handed to Wm. More¹ citizen and vynter of London jewels and harness of Henry IV. as below (which Tutbury had received from John Norbury Treas. of England) to keep en nons de gage sur £500 de dit hostel, to be repaid within a month after Michaelmas 1400 (with seals of Tutbury and More but impressions quite erased).

1 silver cross inwrought with a certain portion of Seint Croys and other relics inside with 2 crucifixes outside, 1 gold the other silver, ornamented with 3 balays, 5 emeralds and 11 pearls—of little value.

1 gold quadrant with leather case enamelled with Salutation of Our Lady garnished with 31 pearls and 1 small pearl sur la file.

Silver ewer inwrought à guise de un dragon.

Silver triper enamelled like a lady seated on a dragon, le seuil de cokill.

Piece of a tree like a triper sitting on 3 silver dragons heads.

1 dragon (silver) like a botflie (butterfly) on an enamelled ground (terage).

1 silver salt-fat² with king's arms on lid.

1 high cup (silver) enamelled on blue bottom (fons) with birds on a plat pee garnis de banbeury.

1 high cup, the knop³ and the bottom enamelled, garnished without with trellis (treilles) and roses, with image of St. Katharine enamelled on lid.

¹ Vol. III., p. 137, note 2.

² Salarium = salte-seler. —

HOL. Cf. JAMIESON, IV., 96.

CA- | ³ For Knopp see ARCHÆOLOGIA, LIII., 3, 8, etc.

Do. do. silver with a lever garnished without with oiseals de banberye (? Banbury).

Do. do. with lions and leaves, pomell enamelled.

Do. chased within.

1 cruskin¹ of white earth hñisez (? harniszez) d'argent with embattled lid enamelled within with babebyn.²

1 high cup knoppe au maniere dun akkerne (acorn).

1 spiceplate of jasper with silver foot enamelled.

1 table in 3 parts with 3 trestel-trees (trestres d'arbre)³ emplatez dehors d'argent enamelled de diverse ymagerye del ouve-raigne d'Espagne.

1 silver arm like a man's arm hanging by a silver chain with 1 escutcheon of the arms of England and a letter P⁴ on the back with acorns worked at the ends.

1 silver pot wrought à guise dun Triper with 3 pillars (pelers) neñt fermez en mesme le pee avec diverses pinacles enamelled with azure.

1 hanap' de berill d'argent with pee de berill poudrez with white swans and other birds with 3 spouts below the said hanap'.

2 spiceplates dun sort de maser avec hautes pees and bordure d'argent enamelled with king's arms on the bottom.

1 hanap de cokill⁵ (with silver lid) on top of pomell une pokette and a man (silver) carrying the said hanap' en son coll'.

1 hanap de berile inwrought with pinnacles and turrets with white stags and other beasts lying on a green ground around the lid.

1 do. do. with 4 dragons like 4 pillars, on the pomel of the lid a rougecler.⁶

1 ewer of berill with 2 rougecleres and 2 pearls on the top of lid.

1 do. do. cum scriptura *Jasper, Melchieser, Balthesar.*

1 do. do. with white falcon on green ground.

1 hanap' with silver lid inwrought with godelet (?) on embattled foot.

¹ PROMPT. PARV., 106.

² *I.e.*, baboon.—PROMPT. PARV., 20.

³ Vol. III., p. 212, note 1.

⁴ Vol. IV., p. 117, note 1.

⁵ = Cameo in HOLT, 147.

⁶ COTGRAVE, s. v.

1 hanap with lid called Gripesey.¹ Painted lid garnished like a crown.

Do. do. called Grepesey, foot on 4 lions tied with 4 roses garnished with leaves of columbine enamelled with azure.

Do. do. called Gripesay with 2 white ostriches on green ground.

1 do. do. called Gripesey debousez powdered with daisies on green ground inwrought à guise de Raggedstaves.

1 silver pot pounsoned for green ginger.

1 nief de Jaspre d'argent.

1 closed mirror on piece of silver with image of St. George and a mermaid.

1 do. green ground in a park.

1 image of Our Lady in amber in a tabernacle with script on foot: *O Maria Mater Dei precor miserere mei.*

Do. do. crowned (4 pearls in crown) in a tower, 4 angels carrying the tower with sun behind the image.

1 silver image of a damosel kneeling.

1 silver triper the snags worked standing on 3 feet.

1 silver tabler² with the "meisne" enclosed in a bourse hanging by the said tabler.

1 silver ladle with 1 stalke. 1 silver fork.

1 girdle (ceinte) le tissue blank with 1 traille de roses les floures bloys.

1 gold girdle with buckles and pendant and 4 bars of floures dyvy (? ivy).

1 small girdle (gold) le tissue red, white and black with buckle and pendant.

1 red girdle with 1 brace of silver. 1 fork of berill.

1 pomme de muske garnished with small baleys and 7 pearls.

1 maser fretted with gold outside (prys = £10).

1 collar of late queen's livery. 1 nouche = an eagle seizing a lady.

1 silver forcer inwrought enamelled garnished within with white silver plates weighing 5 lbs.

¹ Cf. SHARPE, I., 661, 667; II., XLVIII., 97 (ovum de grip); cf. gripes-
eye.—GOWER, CONF. AM., 83. | ² Vol. I., p. 323; III., p. 325,
note 8.

1 chaplet with gold fret-work.

1 collar of livery of late king (du Roi deffuncte).

9 ouvrage d'or of a collar of livery of Queen Anne of branches of rosemary¹ (Rose maryn).

1 pair of paternosters made of silver and gold wire.

2 collars for greyhounds² (leverer) le tissue white and green with letters and silver turrets.

1 do. do. le corps de soy chekerez vert et noir avec le t̄fet' (? turret) letters and bells of silver gilt.

2 silver forks for green ginger. Divers silver spangs³ and 1 pair of priers (?) tied together with a cloth.

2 nouches like fetterlocks⁴ and white greyhounds.

1 long fillet of 9 lozenges each containing 20 pearls and between each ouvrage 1 red pear.

1 livery of Duke of York with 7 linketes and 6 white faucons d'or.

1 chaplet d'or rumpuz garnished with small pearls with 1 lace de soy bloy.

1 old tissue de riban de Damaske embroidered with small pearls and 1 treille with lilies without buckle.

1 skleve (? sleeve) for a lady garnished in front with 19 snags of pearls and red peeres (? pears) and behind with 17 ouvrages of pearls and blue pears.

2 pr. of ladies sleeves red and black worked with pearls.

Divers pearls set in 3 drapelets. Several kokebell of silver tachez ensemble like a girdle.

1 lid for a large maser⁵ inwrought with a lion on the pomel weighing 10 lb. 7 oz.

1 large piece of silver worked for said macer weighing about 14 lbs. 4 oz.

1 macer hñess (? harness) of silver with silver lid falcon on pomel weighing 3 lb. 6 oz.

1 silver triper with 3 men on ground.

1 silver ewer enamelled with trefoils.

¹ PROMPT. PARV., 437; CATHOL.,
311.

² Vol. III., p. 325, note 7.

³ Vol. II., p. 445, note 9.

⁴ PROMPT. PARV., 159.

⁵ Vol. II., p. 241, note 6.

1 do. do. with 4 leaves enamelled de banbourye.
 Large silver girdle serrez de fenestres de ferre containing 16 bars.
 1 silver stag white on green ground weighing 1 lb. 8 oz.

Q. R. *Wardrobe* $\frac{4.5}{1}$.

London Sep. 30, 1399 (or ?) 1400. John Macclesfield late Keeper of Great Wardrobe to Richard II. has handed over to William Loveney Keeper of Great Wardrobe to Henry IV.:—

Pieces of gold cloth de cypre double width. Velvet. 1 bolt of worsted. Ells of Westvall'. Custance. Canab', Mappia pis (? Paris) mappia de Dynant. Touaill de Dynant. 1 corporax de Reynes. 3 pair lintheam' de Reynes. Do. Champagne. Do. tel' lin' Brabant. 1 large dragg of white fustian. 2 dragg cooptor' de spico (?). Canvas de canab. 1 tester de fustian de Naples alb'. 3 curtin cindon de tripl' vapulat' cum corona et plum'. Coster de worsted. Cushion. Dorser. Celer of blue worsted cloth worked and embroidered with roses and serpents. 4 mantell' Hibñ' furred with terg' de Grys. 6 tapet. 1 fold Arras of divers Histories. 1 Jak Scrut (?) de satin red and blue stuffed with coton et Cudris (?). 8 Standards de Sindon de tripl' de armis regis vapulat' et consut'. 1 horn of ivory garnished with silver overgilded. 1 cathedra plicabilis de cupro deaurat' pro capella regis. 1 do. do. de ferro pro privato regis. Saddle covered with green velvet with head of cokkull and ivory also castle and beasts in ivory. 260 garters de tartryn et taffata¹ worked in brouder de liberat' St. George. 12 lbs. of orpiment. 3 standard coffers. 1 coffre de bordes sqaure. 1 table de Puce cum uno cas de ligno. 1 pair de balance cum skale de Bacynes. 2 gromes de ferro. 1 friyingpan de ferro. 1 fleshhook de ferr'. 1 armeriol'² de ligno. 2 andirens de ferro. Rakes, iron tongs, bords called Waynscot.

Q. R. *Wardrobe* $\frac{6.8}{2}$.

Acct. of Thomas More clerk (appointed Keeper of Wardrobe Mar. 9, 1401) from Mar. 10, 1401, to Sep. 30, 1401.

¹ Vol. II., p. 423, notes 4, 8.

² *I.e.*, an almerly or cupboard.—

PROMPT. PARV., IO. DU CANGE,
 s. v., Armariolum.

Refers to King's arrival at Gloucester, Malmesbury, Hyde Abbey juxta Winton, and Woodstock.

Wages of huntsmen and falconers, 19 portos,¹ 3 liggers, chariotter.

Ibid. m. 4.

Acct. of Stephen Ingram late Clerk of Expenses of Household of Isabella late Queen of England.

Silver salars round and square with gilt swags. Candelabra with noses and pikes.² Spoons (2 doz.), potells, lagenæ, cups. Olla de Lagen'. Silver gridiron with 11 bars and 6 ft. Olla pro portag'. Possinett³ argenti. Ladle with arms of England, France, and St. Edward. Dupplicat' goblet. 80 chargers marked with leopard on border outside. Others with crescent star and rose or crown or ostrich feather or shield and 3 fusell (= spindles). 9 depechargers with arms of England and Brabant on bottom. Basins. Large chaufour. Aquar' (= ewer). 1 large nav' (= navis or boat) called Almsdish with a leopard standing on the stern (in fine dictæ navis). 12 silver plates cum floris (*sic*) deliciarum in fundo. Silver disc p. fruct'. Silver plate enamelled with dragon. Eagle cum hmd' (?) dominæ. Olla de potell'. Gold salar' with lid enamelled with garters and collar, a white swan on the top and serpent's tongue, weighing 3 lbs. 15 oz. 1 gold spoon. 9 silver spoons with acorns. Salsar with shield and cross engrayled. 1 large cacab' argent' de 2 lagen'. 1 small do. de ½ lagen'

Q. R. Wardrobe $\frac{68}{3}$.

Writ dated Leeds Castle⁴ Ap. 10, 1401.

Apr. 18, 1401. 8 knights envoys from Duke of Milan in England at King's expense from Mar. 19, 1401, to Apr. 7, 1401.

May 7, 1401. Expenses for transport of servants and horses of Emperor of Constantinople⁵ at Staines, Windsor, and elsewhere this present month of May.

Eltham Jan., 1402. 2 kts. and other ambassadors from Germany in London (at King's cost) for 17 days in March last.

¹ Vol. III., p. 233, note 1.

² Vol. IV., p. 113, note 10.

³ Vol. III., p. 213, note 12.

⁴ Vol. II., p. 409, note 3.

⁵ Vol. III., p. 382, note 4.

Also Anton and John Coreux ambassadors from Brittany¹ in Dec. last.

Sep. 21, 1401. 2 clerks, 1 kt., and 3 esqs.² ambassadors from Queen of Sweden and Denmark 7 weeks in March and April last at hostel of the Bell in Carter Lane.

Q. R. Wardrobe $\frac{43}{8}$.

Loveney's comptus (appointed by patent dated Oct. 28, 1399) from Sep. 29, 1401, to Sep. 29, 1402 (anno 2 to anno 3).

2 coüchief simple. 2 do. Valence (or Valannes). 2 Chapellett de Cremell'. $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. Sang Dragon.

2 payterell. 3 cöps. 2 warrokes. 2005 brakett nail.

Peter Swan armis regis on King's great ship ordinat'³ versus partes Britann' p dnā Regina pann' adaur' Impial.

Rubant' auri de Damasc' strict'. 151 pec' carde. 76 pec' Bokeram. 25 pec' fustian. 4 par' Boug' de cor'. 8 cas' de cor'. 4 cas' de Quirboill'. 790 lbs. cord' canabi. 69 capistr' de cor'.

1 ell pann' russett' stricti radiat'. 3 capell' de Bever. 1 Bahud. 1 mantell de fris.

90 harness equorum de canabo.

Peter Swan broiding 15 tapat' de worsted rub' cum dictamine *Reposez*.

Q. R. Wardrobe $\frac{45}{4}$.

July 18, 1401. William Loveney Keeper of Great Wardrobe has handed to Richard Clifford (junr.) clerk, Keeper of Wardrobe of Isabel Queen of England, for her use in passage to France between Sep. 29, 1400, and June 24 (1401):—

8 long gowns. 6 mantles. 6 long tunics. 6 capuc'. 2 mantell' de statu nigr' long'. Cloth for 3 robes furred. 4 long velvet gowns made and furred. Black cloth. Black velvet. 16,972 ventr' menev pur'. 4026 ventr' min gross'. 400 best' letuse. 14,724 terg' de gris'. 1 bed of black satin. Satin tartryn. Sindon de tripl'. Worsted small and large size. Corde. Mantell' hibern'. 6 pair sheets tel' de reynes. 6 sheets for head of bed. 6

¹ Vol. I., p. 262.

² *Ibid.*, p. 257; II., p. 435, note.

³ Vol. I., p. 307; II., p. 288,

note 3.

do. of Brabant. 2 p' fustians. Covering 1 whirl, 1 litter, and 6 curr' lined with black velvet¹ and black satin quissins. Covering whirl, and curr' with canab' cerat'. Black harness for 32 horses. 12 tapet' p. somō of black cloth. Black Westfall' cloth and cushions for her closet. Black velvet kerchief for bedstead. 2 dorser de carde. 6 paylett p' camera reginæ. 4 sell' cours' with velvet garnished with gold de venis' and silk and gold fringe. Rubant aur' de venis'. 1 lb. Laguior' (?) de serico. 9 lbs. London thread. 10 lbs. Colon' do. Kerchefts pic' et Valanc'. 21 sacs ad pannum. 6 bahud. 1 mantic'. Round basin de laton. Chafers of copper. Silver gilt pomells for curr'. 4 sell' palfr' covered with velvet palte ante et retro de laton et tot' h'nes nigr' 2 sell' bastard coursers. Black worsted. Saddles of black leather. Reins covered with black velvet. Liveries of ladies, servants, kts., clerks, squires, valets, barons, pages all black cloth. 3260 douett.

Q. R. Wardrobe $\frac{68}{4}$.

Compt. Thomas More clerk custos garderobee hospitii regis Sep. 30, 1402, to Sep. 30, 1403, viséd by Sir Thomas Brounfflete Controller of Household. [N.B.—Year of King's marriage and battle of Shrewsbury.]

John Payne is chief pncerna regis. Also Thomas Chaucer² Jan. 15, 1403.

£74 expenses of ambassadors de Alemannia Dec. 7, 1402.³

£41 for 5 horses for chariot, etc., of Philippa bought from John Melbury and others on arrival of Queen.

£333 6s. 8d. from Bp. of Winchester at Winton. £56 for expenses of Bp. of Dole in Brittany.

£136 expenses of ambassadors of King of Castile⁴ and Leon. £20 do. Spanish ambassadors.

£108 16s. 8d. do. ambassadors of Emperor of Constantinople⁵ staying in London.

Receipts from exchequer at Burton Abbey, Worcester, Pontefract, York.

¹ Vol. III., p. 54, note.

² *Ibid.*, p. 116, note 7.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 251, note 6.

⁴ Vol. II., p. 330, note 3. CUNNINGHAM, I., 371.

⁵ RYM., VIII., 299. Vol. III., p. 382, note 4.

4 casks of wine to Sir Lewis Clifford¹ from Bristol.

Total rept. = £25,611 os. 14d. (*sic*).

Total expenditure = £27,547 6s. 7½d.

Dispñ. p. Butillia, Garderoba, Coquinia, Pulletria, Scutillia, Saiſia, Aula, Stabulum, Vad', Ele. (4/- daily).

Oct. 1-7 Westminster. Oct. 8 Eltham. Oct. 9-21 at Westminster. Friday, Oct. 20, 1402, isto die steter' cum rege Scot' Tres (? pris') plurimi Epī et alii magn' regni (*i.e.*, at Westminster²). Nov. 26 festum Parliamenti³ (£182 6s. 7d.). Oct. 23-28 = Westminster. Oct. 22 = Eltham. Nov. 2-27 = Westminster. Nov. 27--Dec. 2 = Eltham. Oct. 29-Nov. 1 = Eltham for feast of All Sts. Dec. 3-5 = Tower. Dec. 5 = Barnet. Dec. 6 = St. Albans. Dec. 7-23 = Berkhamstead. Dec. 23-Jan. 8 = Windsor.⁴ Easthampstead (Jan. 8), Reading (Jan. 9-20), Farnham (Jan. 20-27), Clarendon (Jan. 28), Winchester (Feb. 4-10). Feb. 5 = Festum Nuptiarum⁵ (£522 12s. od.). Sutton, *i.e.*, Bishops Sutton (Feb. 10), Farnham (Feb. 11), Guildford (Feb. 12), Kingston (Feb. 13), Eltham (Feb. 14-24), Westminster (Feb. 24-Mar. 3), Eltham (Mar. 3 to Apr. 28), Windsor (Apr. 28-30) for St. George's feast. Apud parcum de Windsor (Apr. 30-May 6), Chertsey (May 6), Windsor Park (May 7-9), Easthampstead (May 9-20), Henley-on-the-Heath (May 20-June 1), Easthampstead (June 1), Windsor (June 2-19), Sutton⁶ (June 19), Tower (June 20-22), Sutton (June 23), Windsor (June 23-25), Kingston (June 25-27), Kennington (June 27-July 4), Waltham (July 4), Hertford (July 5), Hitchin (July 6), Newenham Priory, nr. Bedford (July 7-9), Higham⁷ (July 9), Harborough (July 10), Leicester (July 11), Nottingham (July 12), Derby (July 13-14), Burton⁸ (July 15), Lichfield (July 16-19), ad Abbatiam⁹ Sct. Th. (?) (July 19), Shrewsbury (July 20-23), Lilles-

¹ Vol. II., p. 292, note 1.

² Vol. I., p. 297.

³ *I.e.*, the day after the dissolution (Vol. I., p. 299).

⁴ Vol. II., p. 288, note.

⁵ HARL. MS., 279. Two COOKERY BOOKS, 58.

⁶ Vol. IV., p. 12, note 5.

⁷ Vol. I., p. 350.

⁸ Yet in RYM., VIII., 313, is a paper dated at Burton, July 16, 1403, and in ORD. PRIV. CO., I., 208, a letter dated Burton, July 17, 1403.

⁹ Probably Lilleshall, though the Abbey was dedicated to St. Mary.—MONAST., VI., 262; EYTON, VIII., 212.

hall (July 23), Stafford¹ (July 24-28), Burton (July 28), Nottingham² (July 29-31), Mansfield (July 31), Blyth (Aug. 1), Doncaster (Aug. 2), Pontefract (Aug. 3-7), Tadcaster (Aug. 7), York³ (Aug. 8-13), Pontefract (Aug. 13-16), Doncaster (Aug. 16), Worksop (Aug. 17), Nottingham (Aug. 18-20), Leicester (Aug. 20), Lutterworth (Aug. 21), Daventry (Aug. 22), Woodstock (Aug. 23-Sep. 2), Worcester (Sep. 2-10), Bromyard (Sep. 10), Hereford (Sep. 11-22), South Wales (Sep. 23-30). Total = £22,472 19s. 2½d.

Oblaciones = 1 large penny (*i.e.*, 7d.) p. day = £10 12s. 11d. (al. £10 3s. 2d.).

• Deduct for All Sts., Christmas, St. John Evang., Epiphany, Purification, Good Friday, Easter (ad resurrectionem), principal mass on day of Annunciation B.V.M., St. George, Ascension, Whitsuntide, Trinity, Nativ. John Bapt., Assumption B.V.M., on which days the king offered gold⁴ (= 6/8).

Pr. of Wales with 2 brothers at Eltham Nov. 1, 1402, offered 10/-. Preacher gets 40/- either a Bachelor, Master, or Doctor in Theology.

Philippa⁵ offers 6/8 at Shrine of St. Thomas in Church at Canterbury between Trinity (June 10) and Assumption (Aug. 15) 1403.

£200 distributed to poor on Maunday. 2d. p. day to 24 poor men (oratores). 4 dol. vini to Dominicans at Chiltern Langley.⁶ Total oblations⁷ = £487 16s. 9d.

Necessaries.—Master of barge 4d. p. day and 16 socii marinarii

¹ Vol. II., p. 60, note 1.

² Vol. I., p. 366.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 367; II., p. 211, note 1.

⁴ Vol. II., p. 211, note 1.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 437, note 4.

⁶ Vol. I., p. 117; called Childerlangley, 25 Edward I., D.K. 45TH REPT., 13; or Childerlangley.—DEVON, 248. HOLT (57) thinks that it was so named because it was used by the royal children. It was the birthplace of Edmund, Duke of York, who died there, Aug. 1, 1402 (WILLS OF KINGS, 189), and was buried in

the Friary by the side of his wife Isabel. His tomb is now in the Parish Church at Langley.—SANDFORD, 377. Edward, the eldest son of the Black Prince, who died at the age of 7 years, was also buried there.—DEVON, 244, 248. CORNER, who was a Dominican, praises Richard II. for his piety, and says (1181) that he heard or read the Hours night and day according to the Breviary of the order of Friars Preachers.

⁷ Vol. II., p. 211, note 1.

3d. p. d.¹ (71 days). King and Queen to Westminster, Lambeth, Tower, Greenwich, Rotherhithe,² Sutton, and Windsor.

£8 18s. 8d. = expenses of Greek Ambassadors of Emperor of Constantinople³ Oct. 1402 (3 days at Windsor) the rest at sign of St. George in Lombard St.

£80 10s. 4½d. = do. of Ambassadors of Germany in London Oct. 1-Nov. 17, 1402 (= extras, wood, coals, etc.).

Unloading Queen's harness at Southampton and forwarding to London in 36 carts. Shoeing horses (*ferrura equorum*). Beds for servants, candles, etc. Pro diversis particulis cujusdam veteris cacabi⁴ weighing 10 lbs. 4 oz. stolen by Guido Middleton late fistulator in King's hostel.

2 kts. *episcopi de Leeges*⁵ (= Liège) bringing letters to King at Kingston-on-Thames and waiting his arrival there for 3 days (24/-).

Expenses of 2 valett' *camar'* from Winchester to Reading, Eltham, and Westminster (20/-).

John Freeman ferryman at Datchet carrying King's servants across Thames (6/8).

Alice Killowe⁶ *lotrici lintheam'* at Windsor (6/8). 2 messengers sent from York to Newcastle for £200 lately belonging to Henry Percy now to be paid to Lord Furnival⁷ for keeping these parts (56/6).

Foreigners (*Bretons*) at Bermondsey⁸ from Feb. 13 to Mar. 14, 1403, when they returned by sea.

Spanish ambassadors stayed *ad hospitium Marie Frankys*.

Tents (with tailors, carpenters, etc.) conveyed (from Jan. 23-Sep. 30, 1403) between London, Salop, Lichfield, York, Hereford, South Wales, Kermerdyn.⁹

Expenses of Earl of Northumberland at Baginton¹⁰ (£20) (warrant dated Feb. 27, 1404).

¹ Vol. IV., p. 29, note 6.

² *Ibid.*, note 1.

³ Vol. III., p. 382, note 4.

⁴ *I.e.*, a metal pot.

⁵ Vol. III., p. 10, note 2.

⁶ For washing bills of Bishop

Swinfield of Hereford in 1289, see WEBB, xxxix.

⁷ Vol. II., p. 112, note 9.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 288, note.

⁹ Vol. I., p. 375.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 368.

Rayed cloth¹ for King and Queen to walk on from church door through middle of the choir to high altar at marriage Winchester (£23 5s. 8d.). John Bradmore² chirurgico dni Regis for medicines for King and household (40/-). Henry (*i.e.*, Beaufort) Bp. of Lincoln succeeds Bp. of Exeter (*i.e.*, Stafford) as Chancellor Feb. 28, 1403.³

Car', spoutage (?), bmanyvag' (?) (? bermanage), titillag', wanag', myndag', lodmanag', frettag' (*cf.* fralitage.—DERBY ACCTS., 162), rumag',⁴ celerag',⁵ coupag'⁶ of wine.

William Heron Seneschal of hostel.

Frater Robert Kendale⁷ King's confessor for a grey horse bought by him. Rayron, grisell, albogrey, yrengrey, black, bay,⁸ bauson.⁹

1 quadriga debil' (? debilis) and 5 horses bought from executors of late Earl of Stafford¹⁰ handed to John Roundel avenar' at Hereford (£9).

John Beauford¹¹ Com' Somers' Camar' Regis fee = £13 6s. 8d., robes = £10 13s. 4d.

Francis Court, Nicholas Hauberk,¹² Payn Tiptoft, John Tiptoft, John Pelham, etc., militibus camē regis et aule. Magistro Ludovico¹³ physico dni regis.

Roger Acton,¹⁴ Roger Leche,¹⁵ Edward Bugge, etc., esquires of hostel. 40/- p. a.

Henry Waryn, Gosselin Rodes, etc., valet. camē regis 18/- p. a. for robes and shoes. Also John Harding and James Harding valettis officiorum hospitii regis. Isabella Launder lotrici of young lords and ladies 11/8 fee and wood + 20/- reward.

¹ Vol. II., p. 288, note.

² Vol. IV., p. 153, note 8.

³ Vol. I., p. 301; III., p. 264, note 1.

⁴ *Cf.* pro runagio doliorum.—DERBY ACCTS., 19, 23, 157. *Cf.* una cum rollagio kranagio, etc.—*Ibid.*, 19.

⁵ *Cf.* pro windario et celleragio doliorum.—DERBY ACCTS., 162.

⁶ Pro couparagio viij. vasorum.—DERBY ACCTS., 207.

⁷ Vol. IV., p. 100, note 5.

⁸ *I.e.*, grey.—PROMPT. PARV., 27. *Cf.* pro equo bay.—DERBY ACCTS., 5.

⁹ Vol. IV., p. 143, note 3.

¹⁰ Killed at Shrewsbury, July 21, 1403.—Vol. I., p. 363.

¹¹ Vol. III., p. 262, note 2.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 290, note 9.

¹³ Vol. II., p. 238, note 6.

¹⁴ Vol. III., p. 296, note 4.

¹⁵ Vol. II., p. 229, note 8.

Countess of Hereford sends present 20 partridges to Eltham, Oct. 12, 1402.

Abbot of Gloucester sends 2 fresh lampreys to Windsor. Prior of Llanthony sends 4 lampreys in bread and 3 doz. cheeses to Windsor.

John Fraunceys¹ hospiti juvenum dominorum filiorum regis et dnē Philippe filie regis apud Newbury.

40/- to Friars Preachers at Guildford entertaining King and familia Feb. 12, 1403.

Margaret de Guldeford hospiti of John, Humphrey and Philippa at Guildford cum familia (3/4).

John Vawsour presents 8 doz. plovers for coronation feast Westminster (13/4).

Posts² of Queen at Dartford, Sidingbourne, Shiningwell (? Shinglewell nr. Ifield), Newenton, Boughton, Wickham, and Chipping Norton. 10/- for damage to houses.

John Whetele hospiti regis apud Kyngeston.³ John Stoke hospiti King and Queen at Chipping Norton.⁴

Isabel Dogan hospiti regis at Harborough.⁵ John Bolde valet of Lady de Mohun coming from London to Windsor with a char' of jusdem domine to bring Philippa from Windsor to London.

John Belle valet' dni Henrici Percy⁶ presenting a courser to King at Tower (25/-).

Carmelites at Hitchin⁷ entertaining King (26/8).

John Clynke messenger of Prince bringing letters to King at Burton (13/4).

To John Fysacreley garcioni panetr' recompense for a horse ost in campis de Hyusifeld⁸ prope Salop die belli tent' in eisdem campis.

Austin Friars for entertaining King and familia at Stafford⁹ 26/8).

¹ Vol. II., p. 437.

² *Ibid.*, note 4.

³ = Feb. 13, 1403.—RELIQUARY, an., 1887, p. 10.

⁴ = Sep. 2, 1403.—Vol. I., p.

72.

⁵ = July 10, 1403.—Vol. I., p. 350.

⁶ Possibly when Humbledon prisoners were demanded.—Vol. I., p. 353.

⁷ = July 6, 1403.

⁸ Vol. III., p. 239, note 4.

⁹ = July 25, 1403.—Vol. I., p.

Richard Selleston entertaining king at Mansfield¹ and presenting Troughtre.²

2 chargers, 9 disc'. 1 silver salsar stolen die belli in campis prope Salop per ignotos.

Carmelites of Doncaster³ entertained king on way to and from York. Do. Friars Preachers at Derby.⁴

Duke of York presents pike, bream and tench at Doncaster Aug. 12. 6 fresh salmon and 12 bream presented at York.

John Stood lost his horse carrying Reth' (? retia) Regis et hernes piscator' regis in South Wales.

Margaret Pentecombe entertained king at Bromyard.⁵

9 porcell' bought for Bretons at Bermondsey⁶ (5/5).

Gerard Salvayn mil. 2 dol. vini. Thomas Clanvowe⁷ mil. and Pernië his wife. Do. do. also to communitas of Cirencester men and women. Do. do. to Roger Walden⁸ clerk. 1 do. to John Wakering. 1 do. to John Gower.⁹ 1 do. to Elmyng Leget and Alice his wife. 1 pipe vascon to Master Nicholas Hereford.¹⁰

3 pipes of vascon wine spent on king at Stafford by Nicholas Bradshaw.¹¹

Messengers for convocation at St. Pauls.

Acct. for 16 horses, trotters and hackneys which belonged to Isabel late Queen of England.

Olla p. potage. Unus discus argenti. Unus cacabus argenti de dimid. lag. 2 lbs. 8 oz.

1 magnus cacabus de 2 lagen' = 10 lbs. 5 oz.

Q. R. Grt. Wardrobe ⁴/₅.

Loveney's acct. of Great Wardrobe from Sep. 29, 1403, to Sep. 29, 1404.

¹ = Aug. 1, 1403.—Vol. I., p. 366; II., p. 60, note 1.

² *I.e.*, Trout, *cf.* troughtes, trugh-tres, etc.—N. AND Q., 8th Ser. III., 473.

³ = Aug. 2nd, 16th, 1403.—Vol. I., pp. 366, 370.

⁴ = July 13th, 14th and 28th, 1403.—Vol. I., pp. 351, 366; RELIQUARY, XVIII., 20.

⁵ = Sep. 10, 1403.—Vol. I., p. 374.

⁶ = Feb. 13th to Mar. 14th, 1403.—Vol. II., p. 288, note.

⁷ Vol. III., p. 297, note 1.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 125, note 9.

⁹ Vol. I., p. 200; IV., p. 136, note 2.

¹⁰ Vol. III., p. 313, note 1.

¹¹ Vol. II., p. 60, note 1.

Fauscropperiis. Doublett' de defencione. *Hony soit qū male y pense* on garter.

Carriage from Criccherch to Gloucester. Anniversary of Queen of Navarre¹ Mar. 8, 1404.

1 best de sabull.

Q. R. Wardrobe $\frac{9}{13}$ (48 Edward III = 1375-6).

Edward III. has manors of Eltham, Rotherhithe,² Gravesend, Shene, Henle, Woodstock and Langele.

Q. R. Wardrobe $\frac{6}{8}$.

Tutbury³ Sep. 14, 1404. Earl of Douglas⁴ was at Windsor Castle in April and May last.

Maxstoke⁵ Oct. 1404. David Fleming⁶ and other knights and clerks sent from Scotland were at Tutbury Castle in Sep. last.

Thomas Chaucer's⁷ acct. Jan. 27, 1405, has inter alia 4 tonels, 44 sextres', 7 pich' vin de Gascoigne delivered to the Prince de nos vins herbergez at Kyllingworth and Lichfield. 2 sextres 3 pitchers⁸ de Malvoisie to Dame de Spenser,⁹ Duke of York, Sir Thomas Beaufort, and others from wines herbergez at Windsor. 4 sextres and $\frac{1}{2}$ pich' Malvoisie to Earl of Douglas¹⁰ at Windsor. 9 sextr', 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ pich' of Gascon to Chancellor and Sir Thomas Rempston at Leicester and Nottingham.

3 pipes of Gascon to John (king's son) at Pontefract. 7 sextr', 2 pich' of Malvoisie in 3 barell ferrez sent from Gloucester to Cirencester to Queen's hostel¹¹ there. 3 tonelx, 1 sextre, 1 pich' of Gascon and 10 sextres of Malvoisie to Earl and Countess

¹ Vol. II., p. 289, note 1.

² Vol. IV., p. 28, note 12.

³ Vol. I., p. 463; II., p. 62, note 6. For letter dated Tutbury, Sep. 4, 1404, see ROY. LET., I., 312; COMPTE RENDU, 3rd Ser., III., 179; VARENBERGH, 491.

⁴ Vol. II., p. 61, note 2.

⁵ Vol. I., p. 464. Oct. 3, 1404.—PAT., 6 H. IV., I, 31, 35; CLAUS.,

6 H. IV., 33; DUC. LANC. REC., XI., 16, 27. The castle was built in 1356.

⁶ = Sep. 16, 1404.—RYM., VIII., 372. Vol. I., p. 464; II., p. 62, note 6.

⁷ Vol. III., p. 116, note 7.

⁸ For sextarium and picheria see DERBY ACCTS., 21, 160, 256.

⁹ Vol. II., p. 38, note 1.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 61, note 2.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 286, note 9.

of Somerset estant en gesine a Totenham¹ from king's cellars in the Vintry. 48 sextres, 3 pich. of Gascon in tonelx de vin Rakkez sent to our hostels at Pontefract,² Bridlington, etc.

Ap. 17, 1405. Pardon to Henry Filongley Esq., sergeant of our esquillerie for 2 silver esquieles³ (3 lb. 6½ oz.), 3 do. (5 lb. 6 oz.), and 13 do. (18 lb. 2 oz.), all lost, marked with star of little crown or arms of England and France quartered on edge or bottom.

April 20, 1404. John Bugby⁴ our chaplain retained 3 years ago pur apprendre et enformer les enfants de notre chapelle en la science de gramaire at 100/- p. a., nothing yet paid, £15 due.

Q. R. Wardrobe ⁶⁸/₈.

13 writes subsidiary to acct. of Richard Kingston Treasurer of Household (7-8 H. IV.).

Jan. 25, 1407. 4 silver lavars⁵ sans marches. 1 silver nief called Almesdish⁶ worked with 7 leopards for Philippa.

Vesture for 33 squires and clerks, 63 valets, 75 garçons for Christmas £113 8s. 6½d. (list of names, 6 ells each) (£4 os. 15½d. (*sic*) + £6) = expenses of Earls of Fife and Douglas⁷ (6 H. IV.). pentre Heford (*sic*) and Leicester.

£29 10s. 9d. expenses of James⁸ filz au roy d'Escosse, Earl of Orkney, Archibald Edmondeston⁹ and other gentles of Scotland being at our charges at their first coming to Tower of London anno 7.

Expenses du Duc de Nychosie (£233 14s. 9d.) (Mar. 29, 1406).
Do. of ambassadors of Denmark¹⁰ (£358 16s. 11½d.).

Do. daughters¹¹ of Earl of March (£7 4s. od.). Do. of Lady le Despenser¹² (£56 6s. 11d.).

Do. Scots¹³ a la Cloche de Carterlane (£39 16s. od.).

King at Nottingham¹⁴ Aug. 1, 1407, at Hereford¹⁵ Sep. 10, 1405.

¹ Vol. III., p. 263, note 1.

² *Ibid.*, p. 110, note 2.

³ = Skillets or dishes.

⁴ Vol. II., p. 487, note 3.

⁵ Vol. III., p. 206, note 18.

⁶ Vol. II., p. 446, note 1.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 61, note 5.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 388, note 4.

⁹ Vol. II., p. 386, note 4.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 440, note 8.

¹¹ *I.e.*, Ann and Eleanor.—Vol. II., p. 36, note 7.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 50, note 6.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 375, note 1.

¹⁴ Vol. III., p. 109, note 4.

¹⁵ Vol. II., p. 304, note 3.

John Casyn¹ esquire of Duke of Berry for expenses while in London, *i.e.*, before Feb. 11, 1408.

Henry Filongley sergeant of our esquillerie² esquille emblez par aucuns larrons between London and Eltham Feb. 7, 1405.

Q. R. Household $\frac{68}{9}$.

Comp. piscium salsar' capt. et provis. ad opus dni nri regis pro expens' hospitii sui (an. 6, 7, 8).

An. 7. Nicholas Blackburn³ ad tunc Admirallo de partibus borealibus et custumar' de Kingston-s.-Hull (£1200).

Q. R. Wardrobe $\frac{68}{10}$.

Particulars of acct. of Ulfridas atte Hethe for herrings and salted fish for household (6-7 H. IV.).

Thomas Nevill Lord Furnival Treas. of England.

1 last⁴ herrings (anno 9) = £6 13s. 4d. Wm. Abbot, Wm. Arnold and John Brown of Crowmere for 200 salt fish (= £21 6s. 8d.) (*sic*). Carrying herrings from Yarmouth to London (36/-).

Q. R. Household $\frac{68}{11}$.

John Burgeys of Salthouse and Katharine his wife executrix of will of Laurence Tucke⁵ of Cley-juxta-mare. Receipt for fish for household (9 H. IV.).

Q. R. Household $\frac{68}{12}$.

Jan. 6, 1408, Sir John Tiptot has king's livery for Christmas.

Jan. 29, Feb. 23, 24, 1408. Sir John Tiptot is Treas.⁶ of our hostel.

Livery for Joiner, Smith, Arblaster, Valet, Fletcher, Bowyer, Stuffer, Carpenter, Serjeant of our Falcons.

Dec. 26, 1407, and Jan. 3, 1408. Tiptoft is custos magnæ garderobe.

Mons. John, filz du roy, is Master Falconer of England.

¹ Vol. III., p. 99, note 9.

² Vol. II., p. 446, note 10.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 422, note 1.

⁴ Vol. II., p. 69, note 11.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 388, note 2.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 476, note 1.

Q. R. Wardrobe $\frac{6s}{13}$.

Indenture dated London July 19, 1408, between Sir J. Tiptot late Keeper of King's Wardrobe and Sir Thomas Brownflete¹ now Keeper of King's Wardrobe.

List of plates, salsers, candelabra, basins, spiceplates, chargers, pots, dishes, etc., handed over. Seal broken.

Q. R. Wardrobe $\frac{6s}{14}$.

2 leaves from a book of acct. of payments out of wardrobe for expenses of King's Household (9-10 H. IV.).

John, king's son, is *custos auc'* (? = falcons) at 12d. p. day from July 18, 1408, to Sep. 30, 1409.

7 portitores of falcons get each 2d. p. day. 23 falconers at 1d. p. d.

Q. R. Wardrobe $\frac{6s}{15}$.

*Sir Thomas Brownflete² (appointed *custos garderobe ore tenus* July 18, 1408) his *compotus* from that date to Sep. 30, 1409, controlled by Sir John Strange. Total rec = £22,478 16s. 5½d. Exp. = £26,299 12s. 4½d.*

King staying in Priory of St. Bartholomew³ Smithfield.

Q. R. Wardrobe $\frac{6s}{18}$.

*Compotus Thomas Brownflete *custos garderobe hospitii regis* from Sep. 30, 1409, to Sep. 30, 1410. Rec. = £19,860 4s. 3½d. Exp. = £21,734 3s. 1½d.*

King at Westminster and Windsor.

Spoons, dipchargers (*sic*), chaufours (silver), *disci vocat' plat' argent'*, cups, etc.

Q. R. Wardrobe $\frac{6s}{17}$. Nil.**Q. R. Wardrobe** $\frac{6s}{18}$.

Compotus Thomas Brownflete from Sep. 30, 1410, to Sep. 30, 1411. Rec = £18,571 5s. 9½d. Exp. = £19,157 4s. 0d.

¹ Vol. II., p. 475, note 13.

² See L.T.R., ENROLLED WARD-

ROBE ACCTS., 13.—APP. C. Also

Vol. II., p. 475, note 13.

³ Vol. III., p. 247, note 6.

Q. R. Household $\frac{6}{19}$.

Jan. 23, 1409. Refers to £100 delivered en notre chambre at Eltham Jan. 2, 1409.¹

Writ dated Oct. 14, 1412, refers to expenses of Ambassadors of Duke of Burgundy from Feb. 1, 1412, to Mar. 4, 1412 (£352 6s. rod.).² Do. coming to us at Coldherber en messagers from Duke (£54 9s. 4d.).

Also expenses³ of Ambassadors of Dukes of Berry, Orleans, Bourbon, Counts of Alençon and Armagnac, and dn. Sñr' de la Dict' (? de Labrit.).

Also Ambassadors of Duke of Brittany herbergez à les Freres Precheours en Londres from May 3 to July 21, 1412 (£687 2s. 6d.).⁴

Dec. 30, 1412. Draps de Ray et de colour. Richard Kingston⁵ is Dean of the College of Windsor at Christmas, 1411.

Q. R. Household $\frac{6}{20}$.

Rec. from subsidy from Exchequer Friday, Mar. 17, 1413, not totalled. Probably from Pells.

Paid to Thomas Brownflete Keeper of King's Wardrobe isto die £1535 5s. 11½d. for hospit. regis.

Q. R. Great Wardrobe $\frac{4}{6}$.

Writ dated June 9, 1404, refers to carriage of beds, etc., from Tower to Eltham for Christmas.

Also Smithfield and baptism⁶ of son of Earl of Somerset.

Q. R. Wardrobe $\frac{4}{7}$.

Loveney's acct. for repairs etc., from Sep. 29, 1404, to Sep. 29, 1405.

Repairing and mending 1 quirle and 1 chare of Philippa.

Q. R. Wardrobe $\frac{4}{8}$.

Comp. W. Loveney custos magn. garderobe from Sep. 29, 1405, to Sep. 29, 1406. Rec. = £1125 7s. 2½d.

¹ Vol. III., p. 233, note 4.

² Vol. IV., p. 64, note 5.

³ DEVON, 319.

⁴ Vol. IV., p. 78, note 5.

⁵ Vol. II., p. 5, note 4.

⁶ Oct. 16th, 1401.—Vol. III., p. 262, note 8.

Carriage of beds from Tower to Hospit' Com. Somerset.

1 par skirts p. sell. 1 corpax¹ de Reynes. 1 pair gloves de Roo worked circ' fimbr' with gold garnished with buttons and silk tassels. Furred with min' pur' and gris.

1 tabul' de Pruys cum cas' de ligno. 2 tabul' dormauntz. 1 mortar lapid'.

231 lbs. of cord' canab. Do. thred' lyn'. 7 piec' grund lyn'. Earl of Douglas² has robes and garnimenta.

Q. R. Wardrobe $\frac{4}{13}$.

[See Q. R. Wardrobe $\frac{4}{13}$. See L. T. R. Enrolled Wardrobe Accts., 12, 2.—APP. C.]

Comp. Richard Clifford (Clerk) cust. magn. garderobe (apptd. Apr. 8, 1408, at £100 p. a. and 12d. p. d. See *Ibid.*, $\frac{4}{13}$, $\frac{4}{13}$) from May 1, 1408, to Sep. 29, 1409, also from Sep. 29, 1409, to Sep. 20, 1411. *Rec.* = £2499 16s. 3d.

8400 vent. min. pur. = £61 5s. od. 1 amys grys (bought from pellipar') 100/- fur Boug'³ (3/4 each).

Fur' agnell' alb. (= 2/- each).

William Chichely 49½ lbs. coton apt. (12d. p. lb.). John Chichely grocer 760½ lbs. cer' polon'. Purfil 2 lbs. Pakfil 3 lbs.

Fauscropours,⁴ faustirops, refishokes.

Scissor. 34 faggots for heating stones for pressing robes of king.

Women broiderers⁵ at 5½d. p. d. Also 6½d, 4½d. Men do. at 9½d, 10½d.

Hastilud' before king in Smithfield July, 1409.⁶ 20 cingul' p. lanc'. Carpenters⁷ (6½d. p. day).

Tassellator for pavilions (6½d. p. d.). 6 pikes cum virolles (8d. each) for pavilions.

Cony takes place of John Drayton as pavilioner.

Carriage of tents⁸ London to Windsor May, 1409, thence to manor in parke de Windsor, thence to —gge (? logge) in Windsor

¹ Vol. III., p. 220, note 5.

² Vol. II., p. 61, note 4.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 183, note 6.

⁴ Vol. IV., p. 143, note 3.

⁵ Vol. II., p. 467, note 8.

⁶ Vol. III., p. 247, note 8.

⁷ Vol. II., p. 466, note 8.

⁸ Vol. III., p. 245, note 6.

Forest¹ thence to Easthampstead, Swallowfield, Henley-on-Heath, then back to Castle by Chertsey and back to London where king was in May, June, and July, *causa vehac' p'cvo* (? = cervo) and carrying them back from Criccherch to Tower of London.

Painting 40 vanes with king's arms and bag' regis.

Fur bought of an Easterling. Showing velvet at Langley Dec. 1408.²

Clerkenwell and Smithfield June, July, Aug., 1409. Best' de mart. best' de conyns.

2424 ventr. min. pur. for long velvet gown for King. Mid-length gown of green long cloth embroidered from collar to end of sleeve with S³ of livery of Lord Humphrey and lined with green tartryn for King (June, 1409). Dñs de Grey⁴ de Codenore Camar' dni Regis.

Roger Coryngham⁵ confessor of king has robe of coloured cloth with 1 fur de Bys of 7 tir'.

Robert Atte Were⁶ master of king's barge on Thames and crew of 16 (all named) winter livery of coloured cloth and rayed cloth.

Scaffold of timber at Clerkenwell⁷ for King, Prince, barons, knights, and ladies for great play showing how God created Heaven and Earth out of nothing and how he created Adam and on to the Day of Judgment.

Another scaffold beside the Hospital of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield for feats of arms in loco spaciosio called locus hastiludii, between Earl of Somerset and Seneschal of Henaud July, 1409.⁸ Covered with canvas. Posts and bayles covered with worsted. Royal tent covered with pann' adaur' de cipre. Also barriers in front. Same scaffold hung with pieces of arras worsted and gold cloth by crochets, hooks, and hamos.

3 gros punct' de Roo. Best' de letus.

William Gascoigne and other judges blue cloth furred with

¹ Vol. III., p. 245, note 7.

² *Ibid.*, p. 159, note 13.

³ Vol. IV., p. 116, note 7.

⁴ Vol. III., p. 306, note 1.

⁵ Vol. IV., p. 100, note 5.

⁶ Vol. IV., p. 29, note 6.

⁷ Vol. III., p. 246, note 5.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 247, note 8; p. 303, note 8.

min. groos. Hoods of ventre de min. pur. and fur de Bys. Also coloured cloth and tartryn robes for summer.

Inceptor in Law and 31 other Scholars of King at Cambridge.¹ 12 Masters in Philosophy robes of coloured cloth fur de popull. Hood ventre de min. pur. Non-graduate scholars have coloured gown with fur of white lamb for Christmas.

Hugh Malgrave *servienti venatori' vocat'*² hayters p' c'vo (= cervo) coloured and rayed cloth.

Gareconi cameræ of Queen coloured rayed cloth. John Cony pavilioner long coloured cloth.

Master John Profit³ keeper of Privy Seal 4 ells of pann' murr' in grano.

Archbp. of Canterbury 760 lbs. of wax for office of Chancellor from Apr. 1, 1408, to Mich., 1410.

30 vrinal.⁴ Alb, amice, stoles, fanons, casul., frontal, contrefrontal, corporac' de Reyn. Russet strict'. Best' de letuc', foyns, martryns, fur de popyll, stranlyn, terg' de Christigrys, velvet playn, adaur' mottele.

Q. R. Wardrobe $\frac{4}{10}$.

Comp. W. Loveney cust. magn. garderobe from Sep. 29, 1407, to May 1, 1408, when he delivers his office to Richard Clifford. Total rec. = £6289 16s. 8½d.

Sheets for ambassadors of France at Gloster and Smithfield.

Carriage of King's beds usque partes boreal' erga adventum Ambassiator' regis Franc'.

Q. R. Great Wardrobe $\frac{4}{11}$.

Loveney's⁵ comp. Sep. 29, 1407, to May 1, 1408. Book (25 leaves) list of creditors for Loveney's whole time. Total = £4077 6s. 2d.

Margaret Stronsston silkwoman. William Chicheley grocer. Thomas Carpent' Poyntmaker.

¹ Vol. III., p. 408, note 3.

² See PROMPT. PARV., 221.

³ Vol. II., p. 484, note 5.

⁴ See PROMPT. PARV., 267, 370,

512; CATHOL., 198; or orynals.—
DERBY ACCTS., 281, 283, 358.

⁵ Vol. II., p. 442, note 11.

Alice Drax bookbinder. Dno principi Wall' (£33 13s. 4d.), Talughchandler. Waxchandler. Cofynmaker.

Oct. 5, 1407. Super costis p' cell' ad usum et opus duc. Bavarr' providend' (£27 14s. od.) by brief dated Mich. anno 1 = Sep. 29, 1400.

Nov. 16, 1407. Recd. from Treas. of England at Evesham for bringing divers stuffs from London and Windsor to Gloster.¹ Writ. ut. sup.

July 7, 1408. £6 13s. 4d. carrying King's bed towards north erga adventum Ambassiator' regis Franciæ.

John Chicheley grocer 20 lbs. coton apt. William Chicheley grocer 306 lbs. cer. polen'. 2 letus.

Cathedra plicabil' de laton deaur'. Carriage of tents and pavilions from London to king at Nottingham,² thence to Pontefract, Rothwellhalle (*sic*), York, Bishopthorpe, Cawode,³ Pomfret, London, within time of this account. Mending pinnes, hukes, bolles, feches, braces, pottes. Carriage from Criccherch to Tower.

Hiring 4 horses and men from London to King at Gloster Nov., 1407, with sheets and other necessaries. Rings, crochets, hooks, cordefil', etc., against arrival of Ambass' Franc. Also beds of gold cloth of cypre. Velvet and worsted from Tower and Windsor to Gloster.⁴ Pieces of arras for parl. at Gloster. London to Leicester⁵ to King in March, 1408, thence to Nottingham,⁶ etc., ut. sup. to York. Boatage to Westminster, Lambeth, Mortlake, Tower, Rotherhithe, etc., to show King divers things within time of this acct.

One large stone called Ragstone. Cutting and fastening vines in garden.

Carriage to Eltham against Christmas⁷ 1407. 80 best' integr' vocat. best' de Werk.

Haberdasher⁸ for parchment, paper, ink,⁹ red wax, etc.

¹ Vol. III., p. 114, note 7.

² *I.e.*, March 16, 1408.—Vol. III., p. 157, note 5.

³ Vol. III., p. 157, note 7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 114, note 7.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 157, note 4.

⁶ Vol. III., p. 157, note 5.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 122, note 1.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 422, note 6.

⁹ *Cf.* In pergameno et incaustro ijs. ijd. (1289).—WEBB, 133.

1 Jak de velvet crem' (= crimson) furred with Best' de Martirons.

Lining black velvet doublet with tel' flandr' Do. 12 pair caligar' with tel' brabant for King.

Long gown hood (lined with scarlet cloth¹) and kirtle of long blue cloth furred with ventre de min' pur. for king against feast of St. George.

Gift to King of Poland² on Oct. 1, 1407 = 1 pann' scarl'. 1 do. sang' in grano. 1 do. color' long'

Do. do. Duke of Lithuania 1 pann' scarl'. 1 do. murr' in grano. Gascoigne, etc., liveries. 32 scholars at Cambridge.³

Tester broidered with healmes, with blue and green silk celur'. Coster of white worsted worked with arms and letters of M.

Cooptor' red cloth furred with minever.

Q. R. Wardrobe $\frac{4}{12}$. (See Q. R. Wardrobe $\frac{1}{8}$.)

Richard Clifford cust. magn. garderobe compotus from May 1, 1408, to Sep. 29, 1409.

Carriage of tents⁴ from Cricherch in London to Totehill, etc. Carriage to Windsor and manor in le park, Easthampstead, Mortlake, etc.

5 ffaucecroppers. 13 pr. fauxstirops or faustirops.⁵ 5 ffauscropours.

Q. R. Wardrobe $\frac{4}{14}$.

Richard Clifford cust. magn. gard. compotus from Sep. 29, 1409, to Apr. 1, 1412.

Carriage from Tower to Leicester, Eltham, Hosp. Bp. Winchester, Westminster, Beauregard, Rotherhithe, Stratford Abbey, Windsor, within time of this acct.

3 bags of cloth (damask, silk and satin) for carrying king's portifors.⁶

Carrying pieces of arras and beds of gold cloth, silk, etc., from London to Worcester⁷ against feast of Christmas, 1409, thence to

¹ Vol. II., p. 423, note 7.

² Vol. IV., p. 7, note 7.

³ Vol. III., p. 408, note 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 245, note 6.

⁵ Cf. "fausteropes." — DERBY ACCRS., 242.

⁶ Vol. III., p. 233, note 2.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 283, note 6.

London, Windsor, Eltham and Lambeth for Easter 1410. From London to Windsor¹ for feast of St. George 1410. Sonning, Henley, Thame Abbey, Woodstock.² London to Windsor and Kenilworth³ (for Christmas, 1410). To Windsor for St. George's Day 1411. Tower and Stratford Abbey⁴ (June and July, 1411). Boatage to show cloths, etc., from London to Westminster, Lambeth, Tower, Rotherhithe, Stratford, Windsor, etc.

Tilers, daubers, gardeners and other labourers repairing.

Q. R. Wardrobe $\frac{4}{1} \frac{5}{5}$.

Writs subsidiary to $\frac{4}{1} \frac{5}{5}$ (9-12 H. IV.).

Writs dated Kyllingworth Castle⁵ Jan. 8, 1411, Tower (May 31, 1408), Mortlake (July 11, 1408), Hosp. Ep. Wynton'.⁶ (Nov. 1, 1408), Langley (Dec. 8, 1408), Hospit. Hugh de Waterton (Dec. 17, 1408), Greenwich⁷ (Feb. 3, 10, 1409), Sutton⁸ (May 1, 1409), Windsor Castle⁹ (May 20, 1409), Hosp. Ep. Ely¹⁰ (Oct. 4, 1409), Lambeth¹¹ (Feb. 13, 1410), also (Mar. 1410), Sutton¹² (Apr. 12, 1410), Windsor Castle (June 4, 1410), Manor of Groby¹³ (Oct. 24, 1410), Leicester¹⁴ (Dec. 3, 1410).

Fur de martiron wombes. Oct. 17, 1409, Gascoigne, etc., livery for Christmas.

Oct. 13, 1409, Thomas Hoccleve¹⁵ clerk de l'office de notre prive seal with 2 others to have notre livre de vesture contre la feste de Noel next.

Socii collegii dni nostri Regis Cantebrigg.¹⁶ = Master Thomas Morton in legibus licentiat'. 3 masters in Philosophy. 14 bachelors. 14 scholars (names legible).

2 testers, 2 coverlitz, 2 pr. of blanketts, 2 pr. of sheets, and 2 canvasses to each bed.¹⁷

¹ Vol. IV., p. 28, note 5.

² Vol. III., p. 317, note 7.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 318, note 8.

⁴ Vol. IV., p. 29, note 2.

⁵ Vol. III., p. 318, note 9.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 159, note 10.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 243, note 7.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 245, note 3.

⁹ *Ibid.*, note 9.

¹⁰ Vol. III., p. 282, note 5.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 303, note 1.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 317, note 2.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 318, note 1.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 318, note 4.

¹⁵ Vol. IV., p. 136, note 4.

¹⁶ Vol. III., p. 408, note 3.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 114, note 7.

Feb. 15, 1410, John Starling¹ is clerk de noz niefs.

Oct. 10, 1409, John Somer² ord. fratrum minorum has 8 ells of russet and 8 ells of blanket for Christmas livery.

Q. R. Wardrobe $\frac{4}{16}$.

(*A fragment undated. Probably not Henry IV.*)

Bottes of worsted. John Risley matrasmaker, matras de carde.

Malemaker. Sells'. 13 bahud. 17 sakkes ad pann'. 1 chariet. 2 bouges corr' tannat'.

Budges for leg harness. 3 bow cases. 1 pr. besages of tanned leather. Pointmaker for punct' de Roo (4 gross) at 2/6 per gross. Also 2 gross punct' cons (? consuti).

Cofremaker, copresmith, botelmaker (= 1 pr. Botel), Potellers. 1 pott' galon'.

Haberdasher. Brush lign' Hatte de Bever. Capp' de nann'. Rerebras cum strynes et polenis.

¹ Vol. IV., p. 37, note 7.

| ² Vol. IV., p. 47, note 6.

APPENDIX C.

EXTRACTS FROM ENROLLED WARDROBE ACCTS.

L.T.R. Roll XI. M. 12.

Compotus of William Loveney, esq., custos magnæ garderobæ from Sep. 30, 1399, to Sep. 30, 1400.

Rubant auri de Venise. 53 ells canab'. 3 pair coffr' Trus-
sable. 22 pair chausemble.

4 warrok. 1 pair faustirops. Pann' russet long'. Do. blanket
long'. 9901 vent' min' pur' and 4187 terga de gris for Prince John
alone. 3 pell' agnell' de Lindesey. Coursers, trotters, palfreys.
Do. do. to Humphrey.

10 cingles (= girths). 1 supercinglis (surcingles).

3 pluscul' pro cinglis. 2 warrok de ligno. 18,529 vent' de
min' pur', 1531 best' Erm', and 4540 terga de Grys for Blanche
and Philippa.¹

16 ells de Estvall² (= Eastphalia). 1 chafour de cupro.³

Canevas de canabo for body and room for Edmund Earl of
March⁴ and his brother.

Best' de Bys. 52 furr' de pople (each of 6 tyr.). Fur' de
Stranlyn.⁵ Fur' Bog' alb'. 1 capuc' Boget⁶ alb'. 7 fur' agn' alb'.

6 testur de worsted minoris assise. 1 lb. sugr' candy. 1 lb.
sang dragon (dragons blood). 24 lbs. orpiment. 1 square laver
bound with iron.

3 dragges de fustian et serico. 1 cas' de cor'. 5 cus' de
quirboill'.⁷ 9 par botell de cor'. 22 lbs. cord' canabi.

¹ Vol. II., p. 436, note 7.

² *Ibid.*, p. 445, note 5. For
Westuall see DERBY ACCTS., 35, 152,
168, 356.

³ Vol. III., p. 152, note 5.

⁴ Vol. II., p. 36, note 8.

⁵ Vol. III., p. 196, note 12.

⁶ Vol. II., p. 183, note 6.

⁷ *I.e.*, tanned leather. Cf. cuir-
bouly.—HALLIWELL, 285.

6 pieces Grondlyn. 216½ lbs. draughtlyn. 167 deadmole.
42 loyns de cor' 48 traynell. 4 pair pastrons.

2 Reñshokes (? reinshooks). 200 braketaill. 8 contrecingl'.
6 couple' de ferr' p. lepar'. 24 coler.

12 chains. 2 leses de cor' p. eisdem. 1 bathingfat. 2 brush
de crinibus. 4 candelabr'¹ for cissors and pellipars working
tempore hyemali. 1 ladle p. cer' deponend'.

To Peter Swan for embroidering 4900 garters of tartryn satin
and taffeta for livery of brotherhood of St. George (anno 2) on
garments, hoods, chaplets. 1 year's expenses = £445 10s. 9½d.

William Sauston and Robert Ashcombe late embroiderers to
Richard II.

John Downton (Armator Regis) carrying king's harness to
Campeden and to Marches of Wales between Sep. 29, 1399, and
Sep. 29, 1400.

John Drayton (King's Pavilioner) carrying tents and pavilions
from London to March of Wales and back. Also from London to
Calais when Isabel was returned.

Thomas Gloucester (Pictor) of London. Pro certis agisa-
mentis² et ludis regis (for Christmas at Eltham 1400). Vapulat'
divers' Trappur' vexillor', penon', pencell', and standards with
arms of King for hastilud' held there before Emperor of Con-
stantinople.

Sherman pro mollura et tonsura 16 panni long'. Pro siccatione
ventilatione trussage and carriage of beds and piece of arras.
Detrussiag' Carrying 7 beds to Rotherhithe³ and back.

Carrying 1 bed of ostrich feather from Kennington to Tower.
Costers of arras.

M. 14.

*Loveney's comptus (cust. magn. gard.) from Sep. 29, 1401, to Sep.
29, 1402.*

Peter Swan for embroidering a red velvet case for small image
of Veronica.

¹ Vol. III., p. 194, note 2.

² *I.e.*, jousts at visit of Emperor

Manuel. See Vol. I., p. 163; IV.,
p. 129, note 2.

³ Vol. IV., p. 29, note 1.

Do. do. 4300 garters¹ satin tartryn and taffeta, broidered with gold of Cyprus auro soldat' et serico divers' color' with blue silk letters de isto dictamine *Hony soit qi male y pense*,² for St. George's feast anno 4 (= 1403).

John Downton carrying King's harness from London to Windsor, Winchester, and Lichfield contra bellum juxta³ Salopiam. Besegewes⁴ = armour.

Tents and pavilions repaired with ash, elm. Posts, poles, pomells, Bolls, stakes, magn' stabuli de canabo. Tel' lin' carde et worsted. Boatage from Criccherch⁵ in London to Wolkaye and by water to Staines and Windsor and back to London. Much apparatus was burnt in Wales. Lodging-axes, spades, shovels, pickoys.

Thomas Prince (pictor London) for agisaments and games for Christmas at Windsor⁶ anno 4 (= 1402).

Vapulat' of standard and Phanots for hastilud' held at Windsor at time of sponsalia of King and Queen at Winchester and crowning of Queen at London.

2 new whirls with all their harness and repairing 1 old chair and saddle tractat' (?) and all belonging to them for use of Philippa⁷ against marriage of King with Queen. Hire of horses to Southampton, Winchester, Eltham, Tower, Westminster, Windsor, etc., for marriage.

29 fur (each of 300 ventr.). 1 fur of 600 ventr. Hoods (= 23 ventr. each). Serici Baldek pann' attabys serici. 21 skaynes fili. 7 bacinet d' aċe (= acier). Satin bed and aula de satin rub' et blod. Pasñ' (?) sent to Brittany⁸ for Queen coming to England to be married.

Peter Swan embroidering a Giton⁹ duplicat' de satyn worked with Jouett' de serico et auro for lance dni regis.

¹ Vol. II., p. 423, note 8.

² Vol. IV., p. 28, note 7.

³ *I.e.*, Aug., 1402. See Vol. I., p. 285.

⁴ *Cf.* "besage."—DERBY ACCTS., 42.

⁵ *I.e.*, Christchurch Priory nr. Aldgate.—MONAST., VI., 150. *Cf.*

St. Katherine Cree in Leadenhall Street.—STOW, *LOND.*, p. 149.

⁶ Vol. II., p. 288, note.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 437, note 2.

⁸ Vol. I., p. 307; II., p. 288, note.

⁹ See PROMPT. PARV., 197.

Making new tent de tel' lin' Flandr'. Brabant canabo worsted (18 pieces in rotlis) and carde (16 pieces) for journey of King to Wales.

Saddlery includes 16 gerines (? gearings) and 50 bemcheynes (? beam chains), gormes, pondering irons, legharness.

Philippa¹ and her magistrix (Katherine Waterton) making furring and lining prout seisona anni exigit.

19 best' ermyns. 550 best' leturs. Sell' de palfrey with gilded harness.

John the King's son is master of the falcons to King Henry.

To wife of Simon Prentour² waxchandler for making a herse and torches for anniversary of Queen of Navarre held at Westminster anno quinto (= 1403-4).

£40 recd. from John Oudeby and his socii Thes' Guerrar'³ July 8, 1404. 1 lb. sancdragon.

Broidering red blod' and glauc' worsted with arms of England and France for King's large ship. Carriage of King's harness from London to King at Cirencester, Leicester, Pomfret, etc., between Sep. 29, 1402, and Sep. 29, 1403.

Making a square tent with canvas porch. Boatage of beds, etc., from Cricherch in London to King and recarrying from Gloucester to London. Order dated Oct. 21, 1399.

Painting standards, etc., for anniversary of Queen of Navarre Nov. 3, 1404.

Making a large herse containing 1 principal taper with 4 torches, Botas, mortes, braunches, etc., for anniversary of Queen of Navarre sister of the King celebrated in Church at Westminster Mar. 8, 1404. Wax in torches.

Washing king's sheets at 4 different arrivals at Tower (13/4).

Christmas at Eltham 2 years past. Carrying beds and arras back to Tower.

Scaffold where Richard Arundel (chlr) tilted cum Lumbardo. Carrying apparatus from Tower to Smithfield and back.

Carriage of arras from Tower to Westminster when first-born

¹ Vol. II., p. 437, note 6.

² RYM., IX., 14.

³ Vol. I., p. 413; II., p. 108.

son of Earl of Somerset the King's brother was baptised¹ (16d.). Washing sheets when Queen came to Tower (3/4).

M. 15.

Loveney's acct. receipts and payments from Sep. 29, 1402, to Sep. 29, 1403.

Robert Waterton² master of the destriers³ and other great horses. 6 capistris, de cor'. Racamacz, cothec' (= gloves) de Roo. Skeyns packthread.

Earl of Douglas gets livery for St. Georges Day (? = 1403-4).

L. T. R. (= Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer) Enrolled Wardrobe Accts. No. 12.

(1) *Loveney' comptus Sep. 29, 1405, to Sep. 29, 1406.*

Rec. from Exchequer = £1113 9s. 2½d. Farm of shops, manors, etc. = £11 18s. od. Total = £1125 7s. 2½d.

3 fauxstirops. Cingul'. Supercingul'. Carrying tents and pavilions from London to Worcester⁴ to King there, thence to Berwick and back to London. Painting shields, pavys, chares, litters, curtyns. Hiring men and horses from London to Hertford⁵ (*sic*), Gloster, Eltham⁶ ad regem ibidem (for Christmas 1405), etc.

Carrying beds, etc., from Tower to Eltham, to hospit. Ep. Dunolm.⁷ and Lerber in London.

Cleaning tapet' lectorum de Egles⁸ et lectorum de plumis.

12 thwonges p. scut' et pelares. 6000 garters⁹ embroidered for St. Georges Day (1406).

6 pec' Quippe corde. 5 pec' carde. Liveries contra festum St. George, 1406.

¹ = Oct. 16, 1401.—Vol. III., p. 262, note 8.

² Vol. IV., p. 143, note 3. Also Iss. ROLL, 13 H. IV., MICH., Feb. 18, 1412.

³ Cf. COTGRAVE, s. v., destriers; LIB. CUST., II., 469; P. PLO. A., II., 150.

⁴ = May, 1405.—Vol. II., p. 170, note 8.

⁵ *I.e.*, Hereford, May, 14-23, 1405.—Vol. II., pp. 121, 172.

⁶ Vol. II., p. 308, note 4.

⁷ *Ibid.*, note 5.

⁸ *Ibid.*, note 8.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 423, note 8.

(1 dorso.) *Do. from Sep. 29, 1406, to Sep. 29, 1407.*

Rec. = £2645 13s. 2½d. Exp. = £3290 9s. 10½d.

Carriage from London to Eltham, Nottingham,¹ Hertford, and Merten² ad regem ibidem.

(2) *Loveney's acct. as custos of Great Wardrobe from Sep. 29, 1407, to May 1, 1408.*

Leaving £4617 6s. 2d. due to creditors.

Total rect. (including this) = £6289 16s. 8d. Exp. = £1556 4s. od.

Bringing tents³ from North to Gloster for repair.

Carriage of do. from London to Gloster, Nottingham, Pomfret, and other places in the north ad regem ibidem.

Do. do. when they were in hospitio St. John in Smithfield. Do. carriage of beds cum stuffura pro eisdem et pieces opat'. darreys from London to Gloucester causa ambass' reg.⁴ Franc. there temp. parliamenti.

Washing sheets for them at Gloster (6/8).

Horses sent from London to Leicester and other places North to King.

Making and repairing of garden et vinearum at Wardrobe for King's arrival.

Eltham = Christmas, 1406, and Christmas, 1407.⁵

Clothsack with harness from Tutbury to London. 3 carts from Leicester to London cum pellura dni regis.

Tawiatura [towing (*sic*)] et mollura et operatura of 72,880 best' integr' voc' best de werk pellur' regis and of 1805 best' martirons = £79 19s. od.

Loveney⁶ owes on leaving £4783 12s. 1½d.

(2 dorso):

Richard Clifford clerk jun.⁷ Cust. Magn. Garderobe appointed Ap. 8, 1408, to act from May 1, 1408.

¹ = July 8, 1407.—Vol. III., p. 107.

² Vol. IV., p. 101, note 1.

³ Vol. III., p. 107, note 10.

⁴ Vol. III., p. 95, note 10.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 122, note 1.

⁶ Vol. II., p. 442, note 11.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 443.

His acct. from May 1, 1408, to Sept. 29, 1409 = 1 yr., 1 qr., 60 days. [See Q. R. Wardrobe $\frac{4}{13}$ App. B.]

Rec. = £2499 16s. 3d. Exp. = £4461 4s. 4½d.

Capuc' bougett' alb'.

Embroidering red and black velvet sheaths for sword worked with divers stones and pearls. Also 4 buttons and tassel for crimson and purple velvet state caps. Scarlet and violet cloth robes. 2 black velvet hoods with silk and gold of Cypre against Feast of Pentecost (1408) and Christmas (1408).

(3) Painting lances, sacks, pises, with crest. 1 shaving cloth. Carriage from London to Windsor (May, 1408).¹

Do. London to Langley² Dec., 1408, to show pieces of velvet and silk to King.

Do. carrying garniamenta and other things to manerium (in le parc) in pco de Windsor, Easthampstead, Chartesey, Hertford, Waltham Abbey, and Sutton.

Do. to Eltham³ die Cene (= Apr. 4) 1409: Pieces of arras from Tower and from Grt. Wardrobe to King ad hospitium⁴ of Archbp. of York, of Bp. of Ely, Westminster, Clerkenwell, St. John of Jerusalem at Smithfield, etc., etc. June, July, Aug., 1409.

Fur bought from an Esterling. Repairing and regilding large broken cross (chapel of King's hostel) of Mary and John with wodewoses⁵ and lions on pinnacles and many other repairs (= £31 3s. 4d.).

From Westminster to Windsor Aug. 4, 1409,⁶ for great feast held there pro Sen' de Henaud and others of France.

Showing velvet cloth adaur' to King at Mortlake, hostels of Bishops of Dublin and Winchester, Rotherhithe, Greenwich, etc.

6 quishh' opat' in Tapita cum literis de M. Lect' de shene. 1 carpet.

¹ Vol. III., p. 158, note 11.

² *Ibid.*, p. 159, note 13.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 244, note 4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 246, note 1.

⁵ Cf. wodwos = wild man.—
HALLIWELL, II., 936.

⁶ Vol. III., p. 247, note 11.

(4) *Clifford's acct. from Sep. 29, 1410* (? 1409, see *Q. R. Wardrobe* $\frac{1}{4}$), to *Apr. 1, 1412, on which day Clifford handed over office of Keeper of Grt. Wardrobe to Thomas Ringwood, appointed* ¹ *Mar. 8, 1412.*

Rec. = £7483 os. 5d., including £3145 2s. 4½d. due to creditors.
Exp. = £5633 17s. 6d.

2 arrongerdells (? irongirdles). 1 par shetyng-gloves. 4 wardbraces. 1 par vantbrace. Do. rerebrace.

1 bacynet with 6 tresses. 1 brechethong. 2 hedstalls de coreo. 6 pr. stirup-irons de laton.

Peter Swan embroiderer d. Oct. 16, 1411, succeeded by William Tiller (12d. p. d.).

Carriage and boitage of divers harness from Tower to Leicester, Eltham, hospit. Episc. Wynton., Westminster, Beauregard, Rotherhithe, Stratford Abbey, and Windsor.

Thomas Wright of London painting 24 standards (vexillorum). 64 phanes de laton. 14 pennons. 8 guytons.

4 cotes ad arma of satin and tartryn with arms of King, Trinity, and St. Mary.

Do. 2000 pensel de Bokeram with ostrich feathers for voyage ² of King to Calais, ordinato Sep., 1411.

6 great bolles de meremio for tents and pavilions.

Painting unius baculi de fraxino p lecto regis (£131 16s. 4d.).

Embroidering 3 bags silk satin and damask cloth for carrying portifors.³

Carrying robes and garments, pieces of velvet and cloth of Cypre and arras from London to Eltham and Leicester, to Worcester ⁴ (for Christmas, 1409), to Windsor ⁵ (for St. George, 1410), Sunning, Henley on Thames, Abbey of Thame, Woodstock,⁶ Killingworth⁷ (for Christmas, 1410), Windsor (for St. George, 1411), Tower (?), Stratford Abbey⁸ (June and July, 1411). Boitage to Westminster, Lambeth, Tower, Rotherhithe, Stratford, Windsor, etc.

¹ Vol. II., p. 443, note 2.

² Vol. IV., p. 39, note 6.

³ Vol. III., p. 233, note 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 283, note 6.

⁵ Vol. IV., p. 28, note 5.

⁶ Vol. III., p. 317, note 7.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 318, note 8.

⁸ Vol. IV., p. 29, note 2.

Martron wombes. Broidering 2 vexil' red and blue satin with King's arms. Do. 2 black and white satin pennons cum bagis regis. 34 worsted standards. 9 guytons de worsted with arms of St. George for ships for Calais Sep., 1411.¹

Armatura. John Hill stuffing bacinets, paletts, vantbraces, rerebraces, and other harness for voyage to Calais.

John Cony pavilioner repairing and packing tents, linen thread, Flanders do., and Brabant.

Roger Coringham² confessor regis. Cecily Waterton, Mathilda Herny, and other domicellæ Reginæ.

L. T. R. Enrolled Wardrobe Accts. No. 13. (much decayed).

M. 5. *Thomas More cust. garderobe Sep. 29, 1404, to Jan. 6, 1405.*

Rec. = £38,394 os. 2d.

Thomas Maureward late Sheriff of Warwick.

Venison broches, rostringyrens, fireshovels, entremessebroches,³ crops,⁴ ffrixovir'.

2 old blakrobysns. Broches for eels. Barhides for chariot.

Aug. 11 at Lynn⁵ (no year). At Merton⁶ Oct. 10, 1406.

Church of Perpondesherst⁷ in Sussex.

Total rec. = £53,924 13s. 11½d.

Richard Kingston⁸ cust. garderobe hospitiū Jan. 7, 1405, to Dec. 7, 1406.

Bridbroches. Lists of vessels of plate.

John Tiptoft⁹ cust. garderobe hospitiū regis Dec. 8, 1406, to July 17, 1408.

Refers to rise in price of corn. Includes acct. for butlery, scullery, pantry, spicery, etc. Rec. = £34,300 7s. 1½d.

¹ Vol. IV., p. 76, note 7.

² *Ibid.*, p. 100, note 5.

³ Vol. III., p. 213, note 19.

⁴ PROMPT. PARV., page 510, note 4.

⁵ = 1406. See Vol. II., p. 448, note 13.

⁶ Vol. II., p. 461, note 11.

⁷ *I.e.*, Hurstpierpoint.

⁸ Vol. II., p. 476, notes 1, 3.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 475.

Thomas Brownflete¹ cust. gard. Hosp. Reg. from July 18, 1408, to Sep. 30, 1409.

Rec. = £26,299 12s. 4½d. (*i.e.*, carrying over large arrears).

Do. do. Sep. 30, 1410, to Sep. 30, 1411.

Do. do. Sep. 30, 1411, to Mar. 23, 1413,² on which day King died.

¹ See Q. R. Wardrobe $\frac{4}{8}$. — | ² Should be Mar. 20. Vol. IV., APP. B. | p. 105, note 3.

APPENDIX D.

Exchequer Treasurer of Receipt Miscellanea $\frac{51}{11}$.

Acct. of Simon Bache Treas. of Household of Henry Prince of Wales 9 H. IV., i.e., Oct. 1, 1407, to Oct. 1, 1408, for buttery, wardrobe, pulletry, scullery, salsaria, Aula, stabulis, vadiis, etc. Also Gascon and sweet wine, hay, oats, wax, etc., av. = £26 to £30 a week. Total for year = £2880 3s. 9d.

Hereford (Oct. 1-29),¹ Llanthony² (Oct. 30-Dec. 11). Nov. 28, 1407, visited at Llanthony (*i.e.*, by Gloucester) by Archbp. of Canterbury, Duke of York, Earl of Arundel, and many others as ambassadors in majori parte dominorum spirit' et temp' of England.

Tewkesbury (Dec. 12, 13), Pershore (Dec. 14, 1407, to Mar. 7, 1408), Killingworth (Mar. 8 to May 25), Alcester (May 25, 26), Worcester (May 26-28), Bromyard (May 28, 29), Brethfield³ (May 29-June 9), Hereford (June 10-June 28).

June 25 includes expenses dni inter Gloster et London (£287 10s. 11½d.).

June 26 includes divers victuals sent cum dno versus Wall'.

June 28 (at Hereford) last entry. Rest blank. *Inde q'* (= quære) expens. dni inter Gloster et London. Inter Kyllingworth,⁴ Bridlyng' (? Bridlington),⁵ et Beilley (Beley),⁶ Yorks.

July 1-4 at Hereford.

Aug. 14 has from June 29 to end of Sep. (93 days) vacant because dns went back from Hereford to parts of Wales ad obsidionem castrorum de Abbristwyth et Hardelagh. No hospitium stand' tent' fuit in tempore predicto.

¹ Vol. III., p. 113, note 2.

² *Ibid.*, p. 118, note 1.

³ *I.e.*, Broadfield or Bradfield nr. Bodenham.—DUNCUMB, II., 47. See Vol. III., p. 119, note 1.

⁴ Vol. II., p. 49, note 7.

⁵ Vol. III., p. 334, note 3.

⁶ Or? Beeley, near Rowsley (Derbyshire).

APPENDIX E.

Queen's Remembrancer Wardrobe $\frac{91}{19}$.

Comptus of John Norbury custos private garderobe dni Regis infra Turrim, from Nov. 5, 1399, to Nov. 5, 1401.

Total rec. = £880 10s. 4d.

Bought of fletcher 4500 sheaf of arrows (1/6 p. garb) for journey to Scotland and for divers castles fortified this side and beyond sea. Bows (1/6 each). 100 habergeons (13/4 each).

Workmen for cleaning repair and truncation of cannon (6d. per day).

Fabris for 148 ligatur' p. truncis canon' ordered for Scotland and Wales.

Repairing and apparatus of a springald in Tower. 10 lagen' olei (at 10d. p. lagen').

8 flathes pinguedinis (21d.). 7 b' (? bags) furfur' (2½d. each). 2 do. zabul' (4d. each).

For cleaning loric', basynettes, palett', and other armour.¹

Bosco et carbone to keep armour, etc. a sorde et molur (? = rust).

Freitage of ship at Newcastle to le Lyth juxt' Edinbro' with arrows, lances, bows, polaxe. Gross of bowstrings. 800 lbs. pulveris canon'.

39 canon'² de cupr' et ferr'. 23 trunc' p. canon. 74 pysers (no value).

128 tribul' (do. do.). 20 basynett' with 20 aventail'. 6 baudrik. 40 hachett de guerre. Darts, pavises, jakkes. 8 balist. 2 haussepees. 6000 quarrels with heads.

¹ Vol. IV., p. 39, note 8.

² Vol. II., p. 266, note 5.

Simon Bache Treas. of Hospitium of Prince of Wales for recovery of Conway Castle held by rebels.¹ 6 canon with 6 trunks (writ dated April 16, 1401).

24 gunstones. 12 touches. 6 hammers. 6 bellows. 100 lbs. of gunpowder. 6 firepans.

100 tampons. 12 balist. 60 sheaf of quarrels² = 1440. 4 gross of bowstrings. 3 hausepees.

24 double strings p. balist'. 12 faustrings p. eisdem. 6 chests for arrows, bows, quarrels, and balists. 8 bacynetts. 8 lorie'. 3 frauderyks p. balist'.

1 vangam. 1 bidens. 1 pr. pinsours. 40 habgeons. 40 jakkes sent to Bordeaux with Earl of Rutland³ (by writ dated Sep. 24, 1401) in King's ship, La Trinite del Tour.

6 housses⁴ de corio p. balist'. 132 bras' de mail'. 3 pr. grissett'. 9 pr. de Jnistheux (?).

124 ketelhattes (no value). 2 gipellettes (no value). 8 glassures. 1 par allett'. 28 tester equorum.

24 banerstaves. 21 fender' p. navibus. 16 lantern. 4000 caltrappes (no value).

128 tribul'. 5 frayingbarrell. 2 par poleyns. 4 chaufrons. 6 flanchs (?).

44 quarrel p. springold'.

Q. R. *Wardrobe* $\frac{9}{20}$.

May 9, 1400. John Cook made custos armorum in Tower Dec. 10, 1399.

Jan. 7, 1400. Military stores to Calais and Guisnes. 300 garbes de settes (or sottes)⁵ with the heads.

6 Haussepez. 12 Baudericks. 8 cannons of diff. kinds. 200 lbs. poudre pur canons. Firepans, iron touches, etc.

Jan. 20, 1400. Reynald Curteys is vitaller of Calais.

Apr. 22, 1400. Robert Wallys Artiller (or Gard. de n̄e

¹ *I.e.*, after Apr. 1, 1401.—Vol. I., p. 215.

² *I.e.*, 24 to each sheaf.

³ Vol. I., p. 211. For powers to him as Lieutenant of Aquitaine

dated Aug. 28, 1401, see ROT. VASC., 2 H. IV. 7, in ASSOCIATED ARCHITECTURAL SOCIETIES, XIV. 109.

⁴ Cf. CATHOL., 189, 190.

⁵ Vol. III., p. 272, note 3.

Artillerie) at Pomfret to have 2 double cannons¹ with 2 heads, 2 potte, 2 lestokk du cup' pace de vingt pouces de plier from Tower.

Aug. 24, 1401, and Sep. 8, 1401. Mons. Thomas de Lancaster² has from Tower:—200 Arkes. 20 gross of strings. 1000 garbes de settes for voyage to Ireland.

Seal³ with "S," *i.e.*, Henry Somer, Attorney for John Norbury.

Apr. 16, 17, 1401. Simon Bache (clk) Treas. of Hostel to Prince of Wales has from Tower 2 large double cannons⁴ la compas de la pere de 18 pounces (= inches). 4 smaller cannon ove l'appareille. 12 inch stones.

Each cannon has 12 stones, 12 touches, 6 homers (= hammers), and 6 belves (*i.e.*, bellows).

100 lbs. of powder. 6 firepans. 100 tampons.

12 balestes. 60 garbes de quarrelles. 4 gross bowstrings. 3 haussepees pur les balistes (for each balista 2 double cords and a fausestring). 8 bacynets. 8 haubgeons⁵ for the cannoners and balistiers to be sent to Marches of Wales because Conway Castle⁶ is held by rebels.

Sep. 24, 1401. To Wales⁷ for King:—4 balestes, 1000 quarrels with heads, 2 chests to carry the quarrels.

100 lbs. of gunpowder. 24 pere p. canons. 6 lbs. of thread to make cords for balists and wyndaces.

1 schovyll. 1 espade. 1 pickoys. 1 hammer. 1 pr. of pinsours.

Sep. 23, 1401. For Earl of Rutland going to Guienne in Trinite de la Tour. 6 bundles of darts pur la Tour de la dite nief. 2 large cannons and 1 small cannon pur pelottes with le stuf, *i.e.*, 40 lbs. of powder, 40 stones, 40 tampons. 2 touches. 1 martel. 1 peire de suffles. 20 pelottes pur les canons.

Durham⁸ Sep. 3, 1400. 8 single and 6 double cannons, etc., to Leith.

¹ Vol. II., p. 268, note 1.

² Vol. I., p. 231. He landed at Bullock (called Blowike or Bloyke, in DUBLIN, ST. MARY'S, I., 307; II., 64) near Dalkey, Nov. 13, 1401.—CAL. ROT. HIB., 160; GILBERT, VICEROYS, 294.

³ Vol. IV., p. 47, note 6.

⁴ Vol. II., p. 268, note 1.

⁵ *Ibid.*, note 14.

⁶ Vol. I., p. 215.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 242.

⁸ Vol. III., p. 291, note 11.

Q. R. Wardrobe $\frac{91}{21}$.

Feb. 20, 1400. Report of 5 commissioners apptd. Dec. 18, 1399, as to stores, etc., in Tower, includes poleyns, pickoys, 1 mayndeser, 190 penselx, 2 gipllett.

8 glassures. 1 par allett (or alleit). 4 pr. di' haunches. 57 croepa equorum.

21 fendor' p. navibus. Fraying barrel. All of "no value" (nullius valoris). No guns nor powder. See *Q. R. Misc.* $\frac{910}{33a}$.

Q. R. Wardrobe $\frac{91}{22}$.

John Norbury's comp. (custos priv. Gard. in Tower) from Nov. 5, 1401, to May 6, 1403. (Continuation of $\frac{91}{21}$.)

Norbury is Constable¹ of castle of Guïnes. Nil.

Q. R. Wardrobe $\frac{91}{23}$.

John (late custos priv. Gard.) comp. from May 6, 1403, to Feb. 13, 1405, succeeded by Henry Somer.

19 flath. pinguedinis. 12 canons de cupro (= £46 4s. od.)² 12 trunks (16/8 each). 6 pelotguns³ (13/4 each).

Gunpowder⁴ (12d. p. lb.). 200 pelottes⁵ plumb. (1d. each) weighing 20 lbs. called 50 lbs. lower down.

3 maundrells. Pavys (2/- each). 1000 lb. sulphur. 2 qr. carbon. Talwood. 8000 lbs. of gunpowder.⁶ Pipes and hogs-heads. 160 palett'. 408 springold-shafts,⁷ pennat' cum stanno.

565 quarrelheads p. springold. 9 patell p. canon. 8 par de splentys. 3 graters.

1 lappekyn p. galea. 246 pavys et targett. 1 sccam (? sack) de Jasse cum familia.

1 fforset de muge (?). 6 pott. p. canon. 1 vice p. balist' tendend'. 12 pec. can. (? canvas) in coster et ridell'.

Feb. 11, 1404.⁸ 2 stone-guns with trunks⁹ to Sandwich.

¹ Appointed June 28, 1401. — Vol. III., p. 161, note 3.

² Vol. II., p. 267, note 8.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 268, note 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 270, note 14.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 268, note 4.

⁶ Vol. II., p. 270, note 14.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 265, note 2; III., p. 41.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 101, note 3.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 267, note 3.

5000 lbs. of gunpowder in castle of Pomfret within time of acct.
1300 lbs. of gunpowder¹ made in Tower from 1360 lbs. of salpêtre
and 400 lbs. of sulphur. Nysanys (?). Scuta de calibe. Mortor
cum pestell.

Q. R. Wardrobe $\frac{9}{24}$.

Feb. 13. 1405. John Norbury² late custos priv. gard. hands
over to Henry Somer now custos priv. gard. 3 lantern, etc., etc.

Q. R. Wardrobe $\frac{9}{25}$.

Apr. 27, 1405 (*nil*).

Q. R. Wardrobe $\frac{9}{28}$.

Tower of London Mar. 22. 1406. Thomas Phelip of Tynby
(*i.e.*, Tenby) has this day received 200 lbs. of saltpetre for defence
of Tenby.³

Q. R. Wardrobe $\frac{9}{27}$.

Gloucester Dec. 5, 1407. Sent to Prince of Wales gisant
jatarde à la siège du chastel d'Abrustwyth.⁴ Saltpetre (971 lbs.),
powder (538 lbs.), sulphur (303 lbs.), sent to King at Nottingham⁵
thence to Hereford avec nre grande canon.

1 large cannon with 1 trunk. 1 small canon manuel. 60 gun-
stones. 60 tampons.

24 pelottes de plumbe weighing 12 lbs. Pr. lestuff du nief for
Richard Lord de Gray sent to sea for certain reasons but lost at
sea.

Q. R. Wardrobe $\frac{9}{28}$.

Oct. 27, 1408. Henry Somer is nadgaire Cust. Priv. Gard.

¹ Vol. II., p. 269, note 5.

² Vol. III., p. 161, note 3; IV.,
p. 47, note 6.

³ Vol. II., p. 302, note.

⁴ Vol. III., p. 107.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 112, note 5.

APPENDIX F.

Q. R. Wardrobe $\frac{9}{28}$.

Wallingford Oct. 4, 1399.

Thomas Chaucer¹ has arrested and taken wine, corn, talewood, and charkoole at castle from officers of Dame Isabel. Vin de Gascogne (105/- per tonnel = 2/- per sextre).

Q. R. Wardrobe $\frac{9}{27}$.

Aug. 22, 1401. Stephen Ingram Treas. of Hostel or clerk of expenses of household of Isabel.

List of silver vessels of Isabel with weights appended. Salars, spoons, dishes, plates, basins, lavers, chargers, pots, etc.

Q. R. Wardrobe $\frac{9}{28}$.

Ingram is dead before May 10, 1402.

Ledes² Castle Apr. 6, 1401.

Mar. 14, 1402, Isabel is nadgaire Roigne d'Angleterre.

Q. R. Wardrobe $\frac{9}{30}$.

*Acct. of John Earl of Somerset for expenses of Blanche.*³

Alms given to poor at Colchester on way from Colchester to Ipswich (6/8). Do. at Dordrecht between Dordrecht and Coln (3/4). At Cochester at mass in Chapel of Sal. B.V.M. de Colchester on Feast of St. George (Apr. 23, 1402) (3/4 and 3/4). Do. at St. John of Colchester Apr. 20 (3/4). Do. Apr. 26 (3/4).

Do. at mass at certain image outside walls of Ipswich Apr. 30 (3/4). Do. at Carmelite Church, Ipswich, May 3 (3/4). Do. Ipswich feast of Inv. S. Crucis (May 3), Ascension (May 4),

¹ Vol. III., p. 117, note 2.

² Vol. II., p. 409, note 3.

³ = April 17—July 26th, 1402.

| Vol. III., p. 249, note 4; p. 262,
| note 5; p. 291, note 1.

Pentecost (May 14), and Trinity (May 21). Corp. Christ. (May 25) at Conventual Ch. of Ch. Ch., Ipswich (3/4 at each). Do. Ch. of St. John Bapt. de Nemegh (= Nymegen) (June 26) (6/8). Cathedral Ch. at Coln after mass nuptiarum suarum (July 6) (6/8).

June 21. Friars minors at Dordrecht (£4) for aula and chambers occupied by her and by suite.

June 25. At Nemegh (66/8) to hospes. June 26. Minstrels of Duke of Geldres at Nemegh (40/-).

June 28. Horses dragging ships between Nemegh and Keyersward (Kaiserswerth). Tree with cherries cut down for passage of horses (6/8). (Pro quadam arbore excisa cum ceresis pro transitu equorum tractantium diversas naves.)

24 garciones from London to Coln and back (names given) from April 17, 1402, to July 26, 1402, and 13 pages of divers lords. Robert Brikhill her janitor at Harwich (July 22) on return from Coln. Sailors playing with their boats et hastiludentibus in aqua at Ipswich, Corp. Christ. (May 25, 1402).

June 14. Gerard van Emarke presenting a sturgeon (sturion) ex pte ducisse de Holand (40/-).

June 16. Heralds and minstrels of Duchess of Holland and of town of Dordrecht.

June 20. Arnold van Bryle presenting philomenam¹ cantantem and various other singing birds at Dordrecht (20/-).

June 24, 1402. Nemegh. Sturgeon presented from Hermann Megr (6/8).

June 25. To divers men prie (= princessæ elsewhere called dnē) between Bumble² and Nemegh p. pila secundum usum priē.

June 26. Minstrels of Count of Cleve at Cleve per manus dni de Souche.

June 27. Servientibus villæ de Emeryk presenting 2 amnes de 5 ferthendell vini renen' ex parte gentium villæ (6/8).

¹ Cf. "l'ossignat en cage dorée et pointé (painted) à vieilles tourelles et cretiaux (= créneaux) et moult bien ordonnée."—ACCTS. OF JAC-QUELINE DE BAVIÈRE (1408-9) in *MESSAGER DES SCIENCES HISTORIQUES DE BELGIQUE*, 1886, p. 459.
² = Bommel.

June 28. Budrik.¹ People present 4 fresh salmon (6/8).

June 30. Duselthorp. Duke of Mounce² sends 2 fatz of Rhine wine and divers fishes.

June 30. Coln. King of Romans presents 5 fats of Rhenish.

July 6. Archbishop of Coleyn do. 1 horse. John de Colen do. 1 leporarius.

Minstrels of King of Romans and Archbishop of Coln.

Albert Blike and Peter Stake henxtmen dne going with her from Coln to partes Alemannie.

Ralph Ramsey and John Palleys esquires hired ad navigandum in a large boat between Dordrecht and Colen p. herbergagio dnē.

Elye Mascall assignato p. uno Keruo (? carver) dnē eunti cum dnā from Coln to Germany (£4).

Peter Midelton do. do. cupberer (£4). Master John South chaplain dnē (£4). Mary Scales domicelle dnē (£5). Catherine domicelle of Countess of Sarum (£6 3s. 4d.).

Cuidam famule Cecilie domicelle dnē (£2). Ffithiano Massy vallō (? = vallett').

Coco p. ore dnē. 1 vall' panetr'. 1 do. butelrie. 2 vall' garderobe. 2 vall' vinere (£14). 1 garcon'coquine. 1 do. butellie. 1 do. garderobe.

After return of Earl of Somerset July 25. Carmelites of Ipswich p. aul. et cameris occupied with dnā and Countess of Somerset and divers other knts., lords, etc., from Apr. 30 to June 6.

Expensa necessaria.

John Philippeson master of a ship ordinat' p. Aula dnē de portag' 100 dol. For freightage of his ship hired from Dordrecht to Coln (£10).

John Skeynard master of a ship of 80 tuns freightage of wardrobe (£10).

Peter Holford master of a ship of 80 tuns for Bp. of Worcester (£10).

Reynor Johnson master of a ship of 60 tuns for dna Sarum. (£8 3s. 4d.).

¹ = Buderich.

² *I.e.*, William II., Duke of Berg.—L'ART DE VER., III., 176.

Jacobus Selleson master of a ship of 60 tuns for dns Le Souche (£8 3s. 4d.). Also 60 for dns John Dalingrug,¹ Henry Houghton, Nicholas Hauberk,² et familia (£8 3s. 4d.).

Jacobus Selleson 60 tuns for dns Richard Arundel.

Jacobus Selleson 60 tuns for office marescal de portage (£7 10s. od.).

Jacobus Selleson 15 tuns pro coquina pro aula (£5 6s. 8d.).

Jacobus Selleson 15 tuns pro le vitailler lardar'.

Freightage of divers victuals and harness of kitchen from Dordrecht to Workhĕm (= Gorkum).

1 lodesman (3/4). Freightage of 17 boō (?) and divers harness from Herwich to Dordrecht.

Freitage multonum et victualium et diversorum harness dnē. Do. char' dnē from Workhĕm to Coln (13/11). Stipendio lode-managii from Harwich to Dordrecht. Lambot Lodeman navis for wardrobe arestat' London ducenti dictam navem per mare usque Harwich et ibidem cunctanti ante adventum dnē per 13 septiās (63/4). At Harwich June 6 lodmanage of ship for le vitailler from Harwich to Bryle³ (30/-).

Lodesman navis et bargie dni Somerset (13/4). Lodemanage from Bryle to Dordrecht (13/4). Do. of ship of Lord Fitzwauter Harwich to Dordrecht (48/4). 1 steresman⁴ for barge dnē from Dordrecht to Coln (40/-). Le Coggejohn of Ipswich.

Coln July 7. 1 chalice. 1 paten (silver). 2 silver crewets bought for chapel dnē (79/10).

Q. R. Wardrobe ^{9 5}/₃₁.

Acct. of John Samon de Kingston-sup.-Thames late valet⁵ chariot of Philippa fil. reg. Sep. 29, 1401 (anno 2), to Sep. 29, 1406 (anno 6) at Berkhamstead, Southwark, Eltham, Watford.

1 bastard.⁶ 3 coursers. 11 trotters. Lyard Bewley. Do. Waltham. Do. Lumbard. Sorrel Warwick. Grisel Clifford.

¹ Vol. II., p. 418, note 5.

² Vol. III., p. 251, note 4; p. 291, note 1.

³ = Brielle.

⁴ Vol. II., p. 104, note 6.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 438, note 1.

⁶ BURROWS, BROCCAS, 58.

Q. R. *Wardrobe* $\frac{9}{8} \frac{5}{2}$.

8 parchment leaves of a book referring to expenses of Philippa's marriage.¹

1 mantle with long train of white satin worked with velvet furred with min. pur. purfled with ermine and leaves furred with ermine for marriage. Gown of aur de cypre, cum ped' virid' worked with white flowers. Red velvet do. Scarlet cloth. Green cloth. Green tartryn. Blue cloth. Mantle hibern' de pann' fris' furred with greys. Bever cap furred with ermine garnished with silk buttons and tassels. Furring 3 pair of boots. Cor' rasez. Black leather furred with terg' de grey and min. pur. Pincons of white leather furred gryes.

Bishop of Bath and Wells green and scarlet cloth. Walter Hungerford kt. scarlet cloth and kerchief cloth de aur de cypre. Bald' blu' worked with falcons and swans in gold. Cloth red curt. to cover privatam cathedram. Dnē de Bromwich. Dnē de Lyle. 8 domicell' = Isabell Fymber, Margery Savage, Mary Scales, Katherine Pucherdon, Margery Elys, Elizabeth Bolthorpe, Alice Gower.

Scarlet and green cloth furred with minever.

Dno Richard de York, Henry Scrope, Peter Bukton,² Walter Hungerford, John Monington, John Bodevill, and 2 other kts. William Loveney Treas. and Richard Clifford cust. gard. dnē. 3 esquires gowns and hoods scarlet and green³ including Elizeo (= Elys) Mascall and John Pucherdon.

Clerk of spicery and 7 others of divers offices of household. 8 minstrels scarlet and green.

1 usher and 40 valets includes William Walsingham. Livery of scarlet and green.

15 pages cameræ. About 40 garcions. Friar John⁴ (Minorite) confessor dnē russet cloth.

Father William Bp. de terr. Dac. (= terra Daciæ) one of 4 ambassadors of King of Dac' robes scarlet and green furred and purfled min. pur. et ermyne. 3 other ambassadors do. do.

¹ *I.e.*, Oct. 26, 1406.—Vol. II., p. 443, note 4.

² Vol. IV., p. 142, note 6.

³ Vol. II., p. 447, note 7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 451, note 10.

Master Peter Luk¹ Archidiacono Ruskeldend' et Andreae² filio Olavi mil' Dac' and 20 esquires with them. Also 5 clerks and 10 valets.

1 dorser with 2 celers and curtains of blue carde bound with ruband fil' gr' and hung with cord fil' gr' and garnished with amil' de cypro p. pilis robis et betis dnē.

2 travasyn of blue and white tartaryn bound with silk rubant, etc., for great and little chamber. White fustian dragg' stuffed with wool. 2 carde matrac' covered with tartryn one side and buckram the other for bed. 9 pair sheets tel' de reyns Champaign and Brabant. 6 paillett' de canab' p. lect' navis. 1 curr' et wherl garnished. 1 cabaigh subtus le hachez and 1 above, de canab' cerat. and red worsted to hang over head dnē with gold de cypre cloth. Bed gold de cypre cloth worked with flowers. 1 coverlet.

1 fuster with celer garnished with silk fringe. 6 leather cushions bound with rubant and silk buttons and covered with aur' de cypre. 3 curtains of red tartryn. 1 canevas of blue carde.

8 costers and 5 tapets of worsted. Sacc' to carry cloth for bed.

Peter Swan broidering sleeves and collar of red velvet gown like a ruban of gold cipre and silk.

Pavilion of carde and Westfall for ship called le Sent Esprit.³ Pann' destat.

2 pann' cloth de Cypre and 2 adaur' racamas offered at Lynden⁴ on days of marriage and coronation. 8 saddles with gold harness. 8 reins. Bagges de coreo. 300 crochettes de ferr' 20 hokes. 1 martell'. 1 colshovill' de ferr'. 1 chaufour de cupr'.

Q. R. Wardrobe $\frac{9}{33}$.

London July 31, 1406. Loveney (Treasurer) has delivered to Clifford :—White satin bed worked en broudarie with king's arms with 1 covertour, 1 tester, 1 whole ciel, 3 curtins of white tartryn

¹ Vol. II., p. 434, note 5.

² Roy. LET., 1., 407.

³ Vol. II., p. 449, note 5.

⁴ *I.e.*, Lund.—Vol. II., p. 450, note 8.

battuz¹ with king's arms, 6 white tapites worked in tapécie² with letters of M crowned, 1 piece of arras worked with gold "pur signasion demonstrer, etc.," "che listore es de grant renon, etc.," "vees chevauchier cel vassala."

July 16, 1406. Madame de Watton³ (= Waterton) is maitresse de Philippa.

Q. R. *Wardrobe* $\frac{9}{3}\frac{5}{4}$.

London July 17, 1406. Richard of York⁴ has received £303 6s. 8d. desterlings for wage ($\frac{1}{4}$ year). Seal attached much broken.

July 21, 1406. Bp. of Bath and Wells⁵ to have 5 marks p. day for $\frac{1}{4}$ year. His receipt dated London July 26, 1406, for £303 6s. 8d.

July 15, 1406. Henry le Scrope de Masham. Receipt for £182 dated July 20, 1406. Small seal attached.

Aug. 16, 1406. Peter de Bukton (as Seneschal de Hostel de Philippa) and his son John, both knights. £100 receipt dated Lynne⁶ Aug. 21, 1406.

July 21, 1406. Sir Walter Hungerford Sheriff of Wilts to be Chamberlain to Philippa. His receipt (£66 13s. 4d.) dated July 23, 1406, in $\frac{9}{3}\frac{5}{4}$.

Q. R. *Wardrobe* $\frac{9}{3}\frac{5}{5}$.

July 21, 1406. Thomas Molington⁷ Baron of Wemme to go with Philippa (£20). His receipt dated July 23, 1406, with fragments of seal.

July 10, 1406. Richard Clifford⁸ Wardrober of Philippa. Receipt for £33 6s. 8d. with small seal (spread eagle).

May 12, 1407. £10 for repairs and fitting of a ship called The Holy Ghost⁹ (John Maihwe master) ordered à conduire Philippa to be paid to John Elmeton clerk of our ships.¹⁰

¹ Cf. Vapulat'.

² Vol. II., p. 445, note 1.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 437, note 6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 446, note 13.

⁵ *Ibid.*, note 12.

⁶ Vol. II., p. 449, note 3.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 447, note 8.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 443, note 2.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 449, note 4.

¹⁰ Vol. IV., p. 37, note 7

July 18, 1406. £100 each to Katherine wife of Sir Hugh Waterton (her rect. dated Lynn Aug. 8, 1406) and Lady Anne Lisle (her rect. dated London Aug. 1, 1406) both going with Philippa.

Jan. 25, 1408 (anno 9). £23 to Anne Lisle coming from Bamborough to London pmt. (? parentre) their arrival in England coming from Denmark.

Aug. 8, 1406. Thomas Nevil of Furnival¹ is Treasurer of England.

Plate² of Philippa = 2 chandellers, 1 paxbrede susoriez, 1 pr. cruetts, 1 silver sonette, 2 sasars, 12 quillers, silver pots, hanaps, esquelle, sausers, spiceplates, basons.

Indenture³ at Lunden Nov. 2, 1406. Peter Luk and others take over *ut sup.* and 4 almousdish', 1 front', 1 contrefront', 1 par ridels, 1 parure, 2 cope, 2 aubes, 2 amites, 2 ffanons, 2 stoles, 1 chesible, 2 tunicles, 1 towell, 1 drap pour la lettron, 1 corpax, 1 chalice, 2 silver cruetts, 1 superaltar', 1 pewe.

Q. R. Wardrobe $\frac{9}{8} \frac{5}{8}$.

(Book of 17 fol. in white leather bag very clean and perfect.)

Compotus of John Spenser, esq.,⁴ *Controller of Household of Henry Prince of Wales. April 17, 1403 to July 20, 1404.*

Wages of soldiers pd. to Earl of Worcester⁵ Ap. 17, 1403 to July 18, 1403. Total acct. = £7153 5s. 4½d.

Fol. 14. Pd. to Dom. de Talbot July 1, 1404, to July 20, 1404, for 20 archers sent to Brecknock, also expenses of household at Hereford and Lemystre July 20, 1404, to Nov. 21, 1404.⁶

Wages⁷ for 3 barons and bannerets, 20 kts., 476 esquires, 2500 archers, June 12, 1403. £2666 13s. 4d. recd. from Exchequer, part payment of £8108 2s. od. indenture dated Salop July 17, 1403.

John Waterton, esq., custos secret' thesaur' dñi (= Prince of Wales). Total rec. = £7574 6s. 8d.

To Thomas,⁸ Earl of Worcester, 6/8 p.d. [1 kt. (2/-), 35 esq.

¹ See Vol. II., p. 112, note 12.

² Vol. II., p. 446, note 7.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 451, note 11.

⁴ Vol. III., p. 330, note 3.

⁵ Vol. III., p. 329, note 6.

⁶ Vol. II., p. 5, note 3.

⁷ Vol. I., p. 360; DEVON, 293.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 351.

(1/-), 200 archers (6d.)] from Ap. 18, 1403, to May 15, 1403, also from June 13 to July 17, 1403.

John¹ Bp. of St. Asaph (10 esq. and 40 archers) June 13 to July 10, 1403.

Gilbert,² Lord de Talbot (2 esq. and 20 archers) also (15 esq. and 60 archers) Ap. 18 to May 15, 1403.

John Tuchet,³ Lord of Audeley (20 esq. and 10 archers). Richard, Lord de Straunge (12 and 40). Sir John Stanley Seneschal⁴ (14 and 50).

Sir Nicholas Hawberk⁵ (5 and 20). Sir William Newport⁶ (29 and 150). Tunstall, Harrington.

Sir William Bourchier (1 and 8). John Waterton (0 and 8). Thomas Aston (0 and 2). Roger Acton, esq. (5 and 22). William Venables (2 and 29). Thomas Hopwood (0 and 1). Robert Langley (2 and 20). Robert Aston and Robert Dawinport (0 and 8). Richard Aston, kt. (19 and 100). John Greyndour, kt. (19 and 100).

Necessary expenses.

London to Salop. John Herteshorne and William Botiler sent from Salop to Bynviegh (? Denbigh) for muster of Sir Richard D'Aston. Messenger to Conway to Sir John Bolde.⁷ Letters to Harlech to inform of state of garrison. Do. to Denbigh to Sir Thomas Tunstall.

Reginald Bailton and 6 socii ducent' dnm and his army to Hardelagh and thence to Aberyswith (35/-). Laurence Combe 1 sext. wine bought at Aberyswith (2/-). Do. for wine bought for lord (43/4). Letters from lord to Hereford, Worcester, Gloucester, Stafford, Derby, Leicester.

Boviclos bought pro stauro castri de Harlech.⁸ Sir John Stanley, Hugh Mortimer, and John Spenser sent from Salop to Chester pro viagio ordinando for rescue of Harlech Castle

¹ Vol. II., p. 11, note 1. Cf. Q. R. ARMY ⁵/₈, APPENDIX G.

² Vol. II., p. 412, note 7.

³ Vol. III., p. 287, note 6.

⁴ Vol. II., p. 291, note 3.

⁵ Vol. III., p. 291, note 4.

⁶ Vol. II., p. 19, note 7.

⁷ For his pedigree see DUGDALE, VISITATION OF LANCASHIRE; CHET. Soc., Vol. LXXIV., 41.

⁸ Vol. III., p. 330, note 3.

Staying at Chester May 15 to June 11. Carriage of victuals to Harlech to raise siege of Harlech June 2 to June 6.

Forces = Chester squires and archers under J. Stanley, J. Pulle,¹ Laurence Feton, Richard Vernon, Robert Leigh, Thomas Fowleschuste² (= fowlesheft), kts., and Hugh Waterton, Ardens, Davenport, Massys, Mainwarings, Wilbrahams, Prestons, Egertons, Winingtons, Venables, Hargreaves, etc.

Rowland Leynthale³ has wages for 5 men-at-arms and 40 archers in castro de Lampader (£13 6s. 8d.).

His lieutenant is Thomas Roberic who has wages for 2 men-at-arms and 30 archers for 3 months in same castle (£75 12s. od.).

John Ennowre⁴ at Harlech Castle. William Hunt⁵ constable of Harlech Castle (June 26, 1403) receives £133 17s. 4d. for 1 esquire and 24 vallect'. Prince of Wales at Salop June 13, 1403 (not proved).

John Greynder (5 esquires and 40 archers) at Salop July 7, 1403. John Spenser controller at London Mar. 11, 1403.

Wages of Dominus de Talbot July 1, 1404, to July 20, 1404.

20 archers sent to Brecknock to keep castle and town 40 days between Aug. 1 and Sep. 30, 1404.

Also expenses of household at Hereford and Lemystre July 20 to Nov. 21, 1404.

Received from John Waterton cust' secret' thesaur' and receiver of Cornwall dni Principis to pay wages in March of Wales and at Brecknock (£111 2s. 6d.) dated Worcester June 30, 1404.

From do. £135 12s. od. for expenses of hospic' dni principis

¹ *I.e.*, Sir John Poole.—DEP. KEEP. 36th REPT. 386; ORMEROD, II., 420, 423.

² Thomas de Fouleshurst, kt. of Crewe, d. Jan. 5, 1404.—DEP. KEEP. 36th REPT., 188; ORMEROD, III., 302, 306.

³ Vol. IV., p. 123, note 4. For his property at Leinthall Earls, Leinthall Starkes, and Monkland near Leominster, see G. F. TOWNS-
END, HISTORY OF LEOMINSTER, 167,

who quotes an account of Hampton Court (Co. Hereford) in 1720 from STUKELEY'S ITINERARIUM CURIOSUM, IV., 72. Hampton Court originally belonged to the Mortimers, and passed from them to the Fitzalans.

⁴ Or Hennore.—DEP. KEEP. 36th REPT. II., 231; Vol. III., p. 330, note 2.

⁵ Vol. I., p. 431; II., p. 15, note 1; III., p. 330, note 2.

held at Hereford and Lymestre for protection of Marches, indenture dated at Hanley Aug. 4, 1404.

Do. indenture dated Hereford Nov. 22, 1404. Also *ibid.*, Apr. 21, 1405. Do. Lemystre Aug. 24, 1404.

To Simon Bache Treas. hosp. for victuals at Hanley July to Aug. 1404. Also hospit' apud Hereford and Lemystre (£16 12. 2d.) indenture at Hanley Aug. 31, 1404.

Hire of horses between Hereford, Hanley, Lemystre, Worcester, and Coventry.

S. Bache indenture at Hereford Nov. 30, 1404, for wax, ginger, sheep, herrings, etc.

Gilbert Lord de Talbot troops from July 1 to July 20, 1404. William Newport kt. (4 and 7) do. do.

6 minstrels dni 8d. p. day per tempus ibidem (£4) (John Clyf, Thomas Norres, William Baldewyn, John Vernage, William Haliday, and John Sendall).

Dno. Richard of York (35 and 60) remaining in Co. Hereford for defence of March 28 days (Oct. and Nov., 1404) indenture dated Coventry Oct. 11, 1404.

John Tuget Lord de Audeley (30 and 60) do. do. Coventry Oct. 10, 1404.

Gilbert Lord de Talbot (12 and 24) do. do. Coventry Oct. 19, 1404. William Newport kt. (24 and 50) do. do.

In same bag.

1. William Botiler carriage of victuals from hospit' dni de Salop to castles of Harlech and Lampaderne. 12 days going and returning. Horse lost on way. Payments at Salop July 2 (? 1403).

Cardemaker. P. uno equo for carrying gunnes¹ (*sic*). 1 horse with stuff p. sell.

John Mower ordinat' ad falcand' herb' p. equis dni same time. Horses p. Robert Kyng and Robert Balle guydes dni. Constabular' de Pycheford for one white horse lost in service dni

¹ Vol. II., p. 267, note 11.

(5/4). I par de bouges p. offic. scutellie in eodem servicio dni. Black horse lost (5/8). Young horse lost (5/-).

2. 42 lances (*sic*) and 232 archers (=les gentz d'armes et archers de lowstiell de Mons. le Prince entour le corps de monsieur), Earl of Worcester (46 and 215), Bp. of St. Asaph (10 and 40), Lord Burnell (9 and 40), Lord Talbot (3 and 12), Sir J. Stanley (10 and 53).

North Wales = 169 and 888 including men of Flint, Beaumaris (and the mariners), and Caernarvon (10 and 64 with Roger Massy, William Tranmore, and Robert Parys¹).

South Wales (159 and 788) includes men of Montgomery and Wales with Sir John Greindur (19 and 100). Les gentz entour le corps de mons. include Nicholas Hawberk (5 and 20), Sir John Stanley (0 and 4), and Roger Acton (5 and 22). Total of all = 506 and 2519.

3. Wages paid anno 4 (? = 1403). Thomas Earl of Worcester 1 kt. and 38 squires and 200 archers for 28 days (£205 6s. 8d.). Do. do. 18 days (£132). John Stranley (*sic*) mil. (1 and 4) 28 days and 10 days. Roger Acton scut. (5 and 32) 35 days. Maiow del mere. Thomas Hoppewode (1 archer) 12 days (18/-). Do. his wages at 6d. p. d. = 12/-. John John and 19 soc' at Brecknock (£20). Hugh Mortimer² is chamberlain.

4. Writ of Prince (Salop May 14, 1403) musters from Salop, Chester, Denbigh, and Rothelan.

Do., Chester Castle, May 1, 1405, refers to men of Chester for rescue of Harlech. Payments to Sir John Stanley, *then* (*i.e.*, June, 1403) seneschal of our hostel. Hugh Mortimer and others of our council at Chester. Each garcion has 4d. p. day. Prince dated Gloucester, Dec. 3, 1407.³

5. Nicholas Hawberk⁴ receipt Salop, June 9, 1403 (5 and 20) 28 days, also (7 and 24) 28 days, seal gone. Gilbert, Lord Talbot, Salop, June 26, 1403, seal effaced. Do. J. Spenser, Hereford, April 21, 1405. Do. Lemestre, Aug. 24, 1405. Hanley, Aug. 4, 1404. Worcester, July 31, 1404.

¹ Vol. I., p. 431; II., p. 17, note 1.

² Vol. III., p. 50, note 1.

³ Vol. III., p. 118, note 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 291, note 4.

Q. R. Household $\frac{9}{37}$.

Simon Bache (acct.), his 10th year as Thes. hosp. begins at Berkhamstead, Oct. 1, 1409 (11 H. IV.).¹

Berkhamstead² (Tuesday, Oct. 1, to Tuesday, Dec. 3).

Wednesday, Nov. 20, 1409,³ isto die venit Rex ad cænam, dux Ebor, dñs Umfrey, dñs Beumond et alii.

Dunstable (Dec. 3, 4). Brihill (Dec. 4, 5). Towcester (Dec. 5). Daventry (Dec. 6, 10). Towcester (Dec. 10, 11). Stoney Stratford (Dec. 11, 12). Leighton Bosiord (Dec. 12). Berkhamstead (Dec. 13-31). Total exp. of quarter (£1187 15s. 10½d.).

Q. R. Wardrobe $\frac{9}{38}$. April 18, 1413. Refers to John Ikelyngton⁴ as late Treas. of Household of Prince.

Q. R. Household $\frac{9}{39}$. Do., do. refers to 1 pipe of wine for Queen in hostel of Count de la Marche in London (11 H. IV.).

Writ of Prince (London, Dec. 8, 1412), grants 1 tun of vin vermail de Gascogne for his beurage entour la, etc., for works at manor of Byflete.⁵

Q. R. Household $\frac{9}{40}$. At Bowre. Potekar.

¹ Oct. 1 to Dec. 31, 1409, see Vol. I., p. 409. On Oct. 8, 1398, he was one of the attorneys commissioned to act for Henry in his banishment.—RYM., VIII., 49. He held a Prebend (Cadington Minor) in St. Paul's till April, 1414.—DUGD., ST. PAUL'S, 239.

² Vol. III., p. 272, note 5.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 282, note 7.

⁴ Cf. RYM., VIII., 705 (Oct. 10, 1411), where he is Treasurer of Household to Prince of Wales, see Vol. I., p. 96. Johannes Iklynton

clericus occurs in LONDON SUBSIDY ROLL, 1412.—ARCHÆOL. JOURN., XLIV., 80; also LAPPENBERG, II., 38, 41 (1411, 1413). In CL., 9 H. IV., 19 d. (May 3, 1408), he is a prebendary of the collegiate church of South Malling. In REC. ROLL, 10 H. IV., PASCH (May 1, 1409), he has custody of alien priory of Clatford, near Marlborough. For Richard Iklington, Jan., 1412, see ARCHÆOL. JOURN., XLIV., 68.

⁵ Vol. III., p. 323, note 3.

APPENDIX G.

Q. R. Army $\frac{5.5}{1}$. *Comptous of Richard, Lord de Grey de Codnor and Stephen le Scrop Baneretti* (4 mil. and 93 scut. and 200 archers) for guard of Westmarch (? Eastmarch) and Castle of Roxbro', from Sep. 4, 1400, to Dec. 3, 1400. Wine, stockfish, etc. Receipts = (£1232 7s. 7½d.). Expenses = (£1046 3s. 7d.).

Q. R. Army $\frac{5.5}{2}$. Retinue of Lord de Grey ut sup. includes Mons. Johann Oldcastle.¹

Q. R. Army $\frac{5.5}{3}$. Names of knights and squires (68 lances) of co. Chester who led 500 Cheshire archers to Scotland (July, 1400) according to their hundreds.

Q. R. Army $\frac{5.5}{4}$. John Elvet at Newcastle, Aug. 4, 1400, has paid to John Cursoun, Treas. des Guerres² de nre dit Roy, for king going to Scotland (£8210 os. od.).

John Cursoun, receipt for 8000 marks from John Norbury, Treas. of England, Newcastle, Aug. 3, 1400.

Do., do. (£10) at Fenwick,³ Aug. 12, 1400. Serpent on seal.

Q. R. Army $\frac{5.5}{5}$. (See $\frac{5.5}{2}$.) Peter de Buckton mil. (2 lances and 15 archers). Earl of Somerset Camar. Regis (39 and 160). Earl of Northumberland (320 and 1500). Roger Acton (1 and 6).

John Greindre mil. (1 and 3). Thomas Clanvowe mil. (1 and 4). Gerard Ufflete mil. (1 and 8).

Prince of Wales⁴ (17 and 99) at Leith.

¹ Vol. III., p. 291, note 11.

² See Vol. II., p. 114, and STUBBS, II., 444; also "tresorers assignez pour la guerre" (1403).—ORD. PRIV. Co., I., 200; "Thesaurarius Guerre"

(1392).—DERBY ACCTS., XLVII., XCI., 148; PRUTZ, LXXVI.

³ Vol. III., p. 329, note 4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, note 4; p. 333, note 9.

Q. R. Army $\frac{5}{8}$. Robert Harbotell, constable of Dunstanburgh, (10 and 20) for custody of Eastmarch of Scotland from Sep. 3 to Dec. 3, 1400.

Q. R. Army $\frac{5}{7}$. Flour, beans, oats. 110 arkes. 6 doz. bowstrings. 2900 stockfish de Pruce and flatfish delivered to Richard Cliderhowe,¹ Esq., living in Newcastle, commissioner de la delivrance des vitailles nre seigneur le roy from customer at Boston. Also 68 tuns of wine. 15 do. beer. 12 flykkes of bacon. 1 pipe de formage (*caseo*).

Q. R. Army $\frac{5}{8}$ (*ut sup*). Compotus R. Cliderhowe refers to Richd. Clitherow² of London. Stockfish called flateropling. Do., voc. manfish.

Q. R. Army $\frac{5}{9}$. Victuals for king going to Scotland bought in Holderness and the Wold. Oatmeal, etc. Dozens of lampreys. Stones of cheese. Corneportours.

Q. R. Army $\frac{5}{10}$. Seal with plaited rush to save wax.

Q. R. Army $\frac{5}{12}$. (*See* $\frac{5}{6}$.) Stores for Scotland, *e.g.*, 1 pipe of flour. 1 tonel wine delivered at Leith.

Bp. of St. Asaph,³ Sir Roger Acton, Sir Walter Blount, John Skydmore, Peter Bukton,⁴ Henry Fitzhugh, Ralph Yuer⁵ (= Ewer), chlr. Earl of Westmoreland (200 and 100). Earl of Northumberland (345 and 1500) at Leith.

Prince of Wales⁶ for 134 persons, $\frac{1}{4}$ pipe flour and $1\frac{1}{2}$ tun wine. John Grenecornwaille chlr. Earls of Suffolk, Stafford, Rutland and Arundel. Lord Bardolph,⁷ Lord Grey de Ruthin, Lord Grey de Codnor, Lords Powys, Willoughby, Ross, Morley, Scales and Ferrers, Sir Thomas Clanvowe, Thomas Beauford, Thomas Swynford, William Harpham (?) vicar of Church of St. John of Beverley, carrying banner of St. John, others carrying banner of our Lady of York.

¹ Vol. II., p. 422, note 6.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 10, note 7.

⁴ Vol. IV., p. 142, note 1.

⁵ Vol. II., p. 178, note 4.

⁶ Vol. III., p. 329, note 4.

⁷ Vol. II., p. 175, note 8.

Dan Robert de Claxton carries banner of St. Cuthbert of Durham.

Q. R. Army $\frac{5}{11}$. *Scotland*¹ (1 H. IV.). Stores as in $\frac{5}{8}$ and $\frac{6}{8}$. 100 dol. flour and 10 dol. salt from London to Scotland by sea. Freightage at Newcastle. 3 dol. and 1 pipe flour = £11 13s. 4d. 1 dol. salt = 13/4. 1 pipe flour = 33/4.

100 dol. farinæ et furfur' (£333 6s. 8d.). 1 dol. = 66/8.

(Total rec. = £347 6s. 8d.; exp. = £339 19s. 10½d.).

Alexander atte Dyke. Freightage, portage, guidage and wyndage of 10 dol. and 10 dol. ut supra (4 ships) from stores in Tower, Newcastle and Edinbro' (£32 10s. 10d.). Flour from Newcastle to York. Lodesmen and lodmannage of said 4 ships (13/4 each ship) 4 men at arms and 8 valet' on each ship. 40/- to fisherman at Leith.

York, Veille de Tous Seints (= Oct. 31, 1400). 12 whals (?) of wheat flour of victuals handed over to 3 pestours (*i.e.*, bakers) of York to be responsible and hand over an equal quantity on May 3rd next p. garnisement des sept semaines devant le jour lenntee (? limitee).

2 tonell de flour to Earl of Northumberland at Newcastle.

15 ton' flour and 4 ton' salt for Roxburgh Castle.

Q. R. Army $\frac{5}{13}$. *Compotus Richard, Lord de Grey and Stephen Scrope* (6 knights and 43 squires and 100 archers) for Eastmarch and Roxburgh. 3 months with Stephen le Scrop, banneretto altero custode merchie et castri for same time. Brief dated Mar. 16, 1401. List of Lord Grey's retinue includes Sir John Oldcastle.² Faint side note = Mem. quod mons. Johan Oldecastell estoit en le paais ovesqu' le seigneur (*i.e.*, Lord Grey) mes il ne vint a le chastell pour ce qu'il ovesque sa retenue estoit envoiez au roy a ce qu' est dit (Sep. Oct., 1400). Indenture³ (Dec. 21, 1400) binds Richard Lord Grey and Stephen Scrope to keep Roxburgh Castle for 3 years from Sep. 4, 1400. 4000 mks. p. a. till new works there begun are finished and a fosse be made before said works. After that

¹ See Vol. I., p. 134.

² Vol. III., p. 291, note 11.

³ VESP., F., VII., 81; SCROPE AND GROSV., II., 47.

3000 mks. p. a., reduced to 1000 mks. in time of peace, victualling at own cost.

Q. R. Army $\frac{5}{14}$. *Computus of Stephen Scrope, Roxbro', from Dec. 4, 1400, to May 4, 1402.* Richard, Lord Grey, is nuper custos. Truce began Ap. 1, 1401. Works not finished and no fosse yet by July 22, 1401. Truce ceased Nov. 11, 1401.

May 4, 1402. Earl of Westmoreland entered castle and took over custody.

Q. R. Army $\frac{5}{15}$. *Computus of John Curson, Esq. Regis, for king's voyage to Scotland (1771 and 11,314).¹* Rec. = £6586 13s. 4d. Exp. = £6587 os. 7d. (wages only).

Thomas Stanley, Robert Waterton (15 and 321), Thomas, son of king (14 and 62), Thomas de Grey de Hoton (? = Heton) (20 and 50), Henry Rocheford Chlr. (1 and 9), Thomas Sy (0 and 3) (30/-), i.e., 60 days. Sir Peter Bukton (2 and 15) (£9 10s. od.), Lord Grey de Codnor (13 and 57), John Mynyot (0 and 1) (10/-), Earl of Northumberland (7 and 160).

Q. R. Army $\frac{5}{16}$. 1400 to Scotland. Piers Holt,² t'koper de rodes. Names of (3 and 8) (latter including William de Spolford, Rawlyn of Flaxton, Robin of Steenes). List of names from Wetherby, Allerton, Thymilby, Rotherham, Bamburghshire, Dernyngton, Aclyf, Durham, Forest of Bowland, Alnwick, Corbridge, with Earl of Northumberland.

John de Radclif de Urdesale (= Ordsal). Archers = John de Caudray, John de Lancasterschyr, Thomas de Scharschell, Richard de Oldom, Henry le Cartwright, Thomas Janynson, etc. List of those who came with John Heron, Esq., to Park of Fenwick³ on Thursday after Feast of St. Laurence, i.e., Aug. 12, 1400.

Q. R. Army $\frac{5}{17}$. *Computus of John, son of king, Custos of Berwick (castle and town) and East March (200 and 400) from*

¹ Vol. III., p. 329, note 4.

² Vol. II., p. 129, note 6.

³ See $\frac{5}{2}$; Vol. III., p. 329, note 4.

Aug.¹ 13, 1403, to Nov. 12, 1404. (Receipt = £11,108 13s. od.). 4 bannerets at 4/- p. d. 20 kts. at 2/-. Indenture of appointment for 7 years from Aug. 13, 1403.

Q. R. Army $\frac{5}{18}$. *John's retinue at Berwick from Aug. 13, 1403, to Nov. 12, 1404.* Names of 400 archers including John Maydestanes, John Fleshewer, John Nicholson senior and junior, etc., each with 1 Christian name only.

Q. R. Army $\frac{5}{19}$. *Compotus of John Elyngham.* Purchases in Co. York and Durham. Victuals for Berwick anno 6 and victualing Castle of Berwick after its capture. Empty barrels for beer and fish (voc. Berebarelle), milwell, lyng, codlyng, afterwards salted. Barge from Scarbro' to Berwick with 80 armed men. Navis (70 do.), large balinger (30 do.). 3 ships (180 men) to convoy provisions² from Scarbro', Whitby, and Flamboroughhead. Wages = £30. 100 quart. frument. 340 barrels beer. 4 barrels salt fish ut sup. 1000 eggs.

Q. R. Army $\frac{5}{1}$. *Compotus of John ap Harry, late escheator Regis Co. Hereford, for custody of castles and manors of Clifford (2 and 7), Glasbury, Bankenenny,³ and Dynas, belonging to Roger Mortimer late Earl of March, from Feb. 14, 1402, to Nov. 29, 1402.*

Q. R. Army $\frac{5}{2}$, $\frac{5}{3}$. *Rotuli William Lovenay controller to John Morehay⁴ clerk late Treas. of Town and castle of Kermerdyn for wages there of men in comitiva ven. patris Henrici late Bp. of Bath and Wells and Earl of Somerset,⁵ Lt. of King in that part (Sep. 29, 1403, for 1 month).*

Long list of names of men-at-arms and archers with Earl of Somerset, Thomas Swynford mil., William Swynbourne, retinues of Richard Lord de Grey, Sir Henry Scrope, Sir Thomas Beauforth, Sir Richard Arundel, Sir Andrew Ekton, Sir Roger Leche, John Tiptoft, etc.

¹ See FOR. ROLL, 7 H. IV.; Vol. I., p. 369.

² Vol. II., pp. 256, 273, note 1.

³ Or Blanlevenny. — INQ. P. MORT., III., 256.

⁴ Vol. II., p. 7, note 6.

⁵ Vol. I., p. 375; III., p. 303, note 6.

Q. R. Army $\frac{5}{4}$. *Loveney's acct. for above same date* (£432 5s. 4d.). 26 barrels of honey. Bp. of Bath and Wells¹ at Car-marthen in comitiva of Earl of Somerset (10 and 20).

John Morehay is in comitiva of Bp. Victuals bought from Hareford (*sic*), Bridgwater.

Exploratoribus vocat. *Scoras*. Victuals sent to Castr. de Lampadervaur (10/-).

14 lagen' honey to Castr. de Kyrkenne (= Caerkennyn) (14d. each = 16/2).

Q. R. Army $\frac{5}{5}$. *Salop. June 12, 1403.*² John Bp. of St. Asaph has received £40 for wages (10 and 40) from John Spenser. Others dated Kenilworth, May 29, 1403, Salop., June 18, 1403.

Q. R. Army $\frac{5}{6}$. Receipt as in $\frac{5}{6}$ dated Kenilworth, May 29, 1403 (Spenser). Do. Salop., June 14, 1403.

Indenture dated Harlech Castle (June 26, 1403). William Hunt,³ Esq., constable, has received from John Spenser *this day* £35 7s. od., part of wages of £40 p. a. for 1 man-at-arms and 23 archers.

Bonds to be at Kyllingworth Castle by Mar. 24, 1403.

Q. R. Army $\frac{5}{7}$. *Fragment of detailed acct. of a castle in Wales (i.e., Denbigh).*

Carrying beans from Chester to Ruthelan by water thence to Denbigh.

Do. 2 pipes honey from Bewmarris and Ruthelan. Do. red wine from Chester to Denbigh.

24 bullocks and cows bought apud Anglesey infra pontem (? parcum) de Moillewyk.⁴

Wages of 1 man collecting tegul' nove ventor' infra vill' after it was burnt, 3d. for 1 day.

Flekys⁵ infra poñ de Castilpk (= Castlepark). Glue for arrows (6d.). Plumes for arrows (10d.).

¹ Vol. II., p. 351, note 2.

² *Ibid.*, p. 11, note 1. See Q. R. WARDROBE $\frac{3}{8}$, APPENDIX F.

³ Vol. II., p. 15, note 1.

⁴ *I.e.*, Moelewig.—J. WILLIAMS.

⁵ Vol. II., p. 59, note 3.

3 lbs. of gunpowder bought at Chester (5/-). 12 bows bought at Chester (10/-).

Making a vawte cameræ infra castr., June 4, 1402. Carrying stones infra poñ de Galnhull¹ ad taskam (6d.). 120 planks fitted and split apud forest de Kilkemys² for doors and windows of said chamber. Carrying to Denbigh Castle, fitting and splitting timber for lacys and sparrys apud Postny.³ Fitting 900 new palys p. clausur' pci de Galnhull. Do. pci de Moillewyk.

First wage is to Richard Daston⁴ chl. wages from Mich. (no year) $\frac{3}{4}$ yr. to Midsummer.

Do. to janitor, custos armaturæ. Janitor of outer gate of town. Watcher, victualler, parker of Castleparks and Galnhull. Do. of Garsnod,⁵ Moillewyk, Postur, to St. Praxedes (= July 21). Richard del Wode to July 16.

1 pipe salis de Bayonne (= 18 bushels) at 6d. p. bushel (9/-).

Mending great gate voc. le Westgate. Also le Towngate. 1 man falcant' fernne (= fern) infra Castilpark erga adventum dicti⁶ dni p. liter' equorum 2 days (8d.).

1 man collecting same fernne 1 day (3d.). 3 barr' ferr' p. fenestra in p'fundo turr' comitissæ (2/-). Silk for arrows. Wax for do. Thread (do.) et in verdegres for Fletchñ noñ fossæ cum spin' et vepr' plantand'. John Plomer going to Anglesey to auditor there for acct. in Dec. touching domains of Denbigh and Anglesey.

Roger de Bolton,⁷ receiver of domain of Denbigh, going from Denbigh to Chester de feodo dni Henry Percy and $\frac{6}{8}$ reward for office Justic. Cestr. at N. Wales granted him by Prince. Letters of Richard Daston seneschal to Sir John Pole and John Massy at Flint and Hawarden causâ malic' Oweyn de Glyndordwy. Do. to Chester to Prince in vigilia Ramis Palmarum—same cause. Gr. le Walker going to Basingwerk to inquire de justiciis de

¹ Probably Galchhill.

² Possibly Cilcen near Mold.

³ Probably Parc-Postyn in parish of Llanraiad.

⁴ Steward of Denbigh, Feb. 17, 1403.—DEP. KEEP. 36th REPT. II., 13.

⁵ *I.e.*, Crest Hill called Garthy-snodiog, Caresnodeoke, or Gorse-nodioc.—LELAND in J. WILLIAMS, 323.

⁶ *I.e.*, Henry Percy.

⁷ DEP. KEEP. 36th REPT., II., 42.

comitat' de Flynt (6d.). John servt. of Thomas Aleyn¹ coming from Chester to Denbigh with letters of Thomas Earl of Worcester and returning with letters to do. cause ut sup.

Roger de Bolton, receiver, going to Berwick to certify to Sir Henry Percy certain matters touching domain of Denbigh postquam fuit combusta² (46/8).

John Tanner from Denbigh to Chester erga adventum Nicholai Rigby³ seneschalli pcept dni Henrici (12d.). Gr. ap Jevan Skolhayge going on divers business dni Henry Percy to divers parts pcept dni existent' apud Dynb' mens. Julii. John Gray vallett' dni at Denbigh same time pro ferrura equorum. 4 men and 6 horses carrying oats from Castle stores to Flynt p. p'bend equorum dni Henry Percy and Earls of Worcester and Douglas, Stephen Scrope, and others, in comitiva of Henry in his journey to Chester, July.

William Lloit·Esq. dni going to hford to confer with co. of Prince, April, 1402. John King, chaplain, going to Prince from Chester by precept dni apud Alnewyck. Expeñses of 3 Scots from Mich. to Mar. 1 (3½d. p. d. to each), viz., William Mydrū (? = Meldrum) executed that day in presence of Richard Daston seneschal, and 2 alii vallett (2d.). Letter dni dated Bambro', Feb. 23.

Indenture dated Denbigh (Apr. 1, 1403) to be carried to Lord at Berwick.

Q. R. Army ^{5.6}/₈. *Compotus of Sir Thomas Carrew*⁴ *custos of Castle of Nerberth (according to indenture dated Oct. 19, 1402) from Nov. 1, 1402, the day he took over custody, to Apr. 24, 1404,*⁵ *on which day he was granted castle ut sup. and dominia etc. (for life) of villa de St. Claro and Commot of Tray (in Co. Kermerdyn) formerly belonging to Sir Edmund Mortimer. Names of 9 men-at-arms and 20 archers, e.g., John Trumpet, Hans Armurer, etc.*

Q. R. Army ^{5.6}/₉. *Compotus of Sir Thomas Burton*⁶ *custos of*

¹ DEP. KEEP. 36th REPT., 11., 4.

² Vol. II., p. 2, note 10.

³ DEP. KEEP. 36th REPT., 11., 406.

⁴ Vol. II., p. 310, note 5.

⁵ Vol. I., p. 347, note 1.

⁶ Vol. II., p. 15, note 2.

*Castles of Cardigan*¹ and *Lampadervaure*, Mar. 31 to Nov. 13, 1404.

Recd. £50 from John Norbury at Tutbury, Sep., 1404. Spent £389 17s., wages of 12 and 45. Names almost all English.

Q. R. Army $\frac{5}{16}$. Names of 7 and 30 in retinue of J. Brigge custos of Bishop's Castle from Mar. 22 to Sep. 25, 1404, in hands of king since death of J. Trevenant (Bishop).

Q. R. Army $\frac{5}{11}$. *Acct. of Galfrid Louth² and Robert Pudsay executors of Thomas late Lord Furnival, quondam one of the Treasurers for War, for custody of Castles of Montgomery,³ Bishop's Castle, and Caux by breve regis dated Nov. 14, 1410. Wages = £3318 10s. od.*

Muster, Dec. 18, 1404. Montgomery (John Talbot⁴) till Oct. 13, 1405 (45 and 140). All names given.

Do. Bishop's Castle (J. Brigge) (7 and 15 valett).

Muster, Aug. 24, 1405, to May 31, 1406. (20 and 100) prob. Bishop's Castle.

Muster, Dec. 16, 1405, to Feb. 1, 1406. (53 and 104 valett') J. Talbot⁵ (? Montgomery).

Q. R. Army $\frac{5}{12}$. *Aug., 1410. Computus of John Morehay⁶ custody of town of Kermerdyn and carriage of stores from Bristol. Rect. = £140. 20d. bargandizandi vini.*

Carriage from Key⁷ to place called le Bak. Towage of ship from le Bak to another place called Hongerrode.

¹ On Oct. 28, 1404, the commander of Cardigan is Andrew Lynne. —PAT., 6 H. IV., 1, 27. In *ibid.*, 8 H. IV., 1, 8, Feb. 18, 1407 it is under Louis Cornwaill, son of Sir Edmund Cornwaill.

² Vol. II., p. 113, note 3; TEST. EBOR., III., 42.

³ Vol. II., p. 112, note 10.

⁴ Vol. III., p. 111, note 8.

⁵ See also Q. R. ARMY $\frac{5}{8}$ for names of his retinue at Montgomery from Ap. 26, 1407, to Ap. 25, 1408.

⁶ Vol. II., p. 7, note 5; III., p. 370, note 3.

⁷ *I.e.*, on the Frome. Le Bak is the Back (A. S. GREEN, II., 37; RICART, 81-84), where the Custom House stood on the Avon.—See Maps, etc., in NICHOLLS AND TAYLOR, I., 51, 129, 214, 234, 281; II., 127; III., 64, 187. Hongerrode (or Hungroad.—LELAND) is down the river about Sea Mills.—NICHOLLS AND TAYLOR, I., 73.

John Morehay riding from Lichfield (Aug. 29, 1404) to Bristol, thence to Carmarthen, thence to Coventry to king (Oct. 2, 1404).

John Nevil,¹ Henry Nevil, militibus at Carmarthen.

Q. R. Army $\frac{5}{13}$. (In leather bag.) *Comptus of Rustin de Villá nová* (rect. from *Treas. of War*) *custos of Castle of Carmarthen* (6 kts., 75 esq., and 240 archers) and *Newcastle Emlyn* (10 and 33 under Robert Gargrave) from May 1, 1404, to June 30, 1404.

Q. R. Army $\frac{5}{14}$. *Comptus of Lord de Powys*² (with 20 and 100) at *Castrum de Pole* from Dec. 6, 1404 to Jan. 31, 1405. Names of retinue. Furnival and Pelham are Treasurers of War.

Q. R. Army $\frac{5}{15}$. Same as $\frac{5}{14}$.

Q. R. Army $\frac{5}{16}$. 1 membr. mutilated (6 H. IV.). *Comp. William Rye*³ in *Kerdyf ad removeri faciendum obsidium ibidem par Wall. Rebell. Breve regis* dated Mar. 10, 1405.

£102 all spent. Stevens, etc., from Bristol. . . . 538 persons at 6d. per day. . . . 435 archers at 6d. p. day = 24 and 479.

Flour, salmon (pipes), beans, beer. 2 guns. 28 gunstones (8/-).

40 gadd⁴ pro gunnes (2/2). 9 garb arrows. Rescussu, Dec., 1404.

3 barells salt meat. 4 lbs. gunpowder (8/-). Pestell⁵ ferr' p. gun firmand'.

Q. R. Army $\frac{5}{17}$. Thomas Burton mil. cust. castr. Cardigan and Lampadervaure, Ap. 27 to July 1, 1405. (10 and 40) with names.

Q. R. Army $\frac{5}{18}$. Richard Arundell⁶ mil. in king's service for a year with 16 and 80 in uno viagio in partibus Suthwafl. facto pro conquestu ejusdem ac justificacione rebellium, etc., by indenture dated Mar. 30, 1405; also 84 and 220 ultra predictam summam.

¹ Vol. I., p. 457.

² Vol. II., p. 7, note 7.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 13, note 6.

⁴ Vol. II., p. 268, note 6.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 268, note 8.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 307, note 1.

Received from Thomas Lord Furnivall and John Pelham, late Treasurers of War, from Nov. 12, 1404, to June 19, 1406, £1085 14s.

Q. R. Army $\frac{5}{19}$. Names of above troops from Oct. 13¹ to Dec. 1, 1404, and from Apr. 17, 1405, to Dec. 17, 1405.

Q. R. Army $\frac{5}{20}$, $\frac{5}{21}$. See Vol. II., p. 109, note 1; p. 400, note 7; Vol. III., p. 101, note 7; p. 264, note 1.

Q. R. Army $\frac{5}{22}$, $\frac{5}{23}$. See Vol. II., p. 56, notes 2, 3; Vol. III., p. 98, notes 4, 6; p. 99, note 5.

Q. R. Army $\frac{5}{24}$, $\frac{5}{25}$. See Vol. III., p. 111, note 8.

Q. R. Army $\frac{5}{27}$, $\frac{5}{28}$. See Vol. III., p. 99, note 5.

¹ Vol. II., p. 298, note.

APPENDIX H.

NOTE ON THE RETURN OF QUEEN ISABELLA.—VOL. I., P. 155.

A long memorandum¹ is still preserved among the archives of Lille, addressed by one of the envoys, Jean de Hengest,² to the Dukes of Burgundy and Orleans, from which it appears that Hangest and Blanchet left Paris on Oct. 1, 1400, slept at Boulogne on Monday (Oct. 4), sent to Calais for a passage but were delayed by bad weather till the Thursday following (*i.e.*, Oct. 7), on which day they took ship at Calais "in great danger of being drowned." They reached Sandwich that night and Canterbury the following day (Oct. 8). Here they were met by Lord Saye, who told them that they expected very soon to see the Bishop of Durham, who was going to cross by Dover to be present at the proposed meeting on Oct. 15. On the Bishop's arrival in Canterbury it appeared that there had been some misunderstanding as to the day of meeting, but he invited the two Frenchmen to dine with him the next day at his hostel and talk matters over. They replied that they would be very pleased to come after they had heard mass in the Cathedral and offered presents from the Dauphin at the shrine of St. Thomas. Accordingly, the next day they went and some little fencing took place over the dinner-table, the upshot of which was that there was some expectation that Isabella might be at

¹ Printed in FROISS. (LETTENHOVE), XVI., 366-377.

² For their instructions, dated Sep. 6, 1400, see Vol. I., p. 150; DOUET D'ARCO, I., 193; ADD. MSS., II., 298 f. 8; 30,664, 220; TRANSCR.

FOR. REC., 135, 4, from TRES. DES CH., J. 645, No. 12. Both Hangest and Blanchet were members of the King's Council.—DOUET D'ARCO, I., 70, 171, 193; ZANTFLIET, 354.

Canterbury by Oct. 30,¹ and perhaps would cross the sea if all went well, though nothing could be finally settled yet as the King was away in Wales and would want to see her himself before she started. In the end it was decided that it would be better to give up the proposed meeting at Leulinghen on Oct. 15, and proceed together to London instead. They reached the capital on the Saturday following (Oct. 16), and after they had dined they received a call from the Earl of Worcester, who made many apologies for not having come on the road to meet them, and asked them to dine with him on the following day. This they did, and after dinner they were conducted to the Black Friars Church, where the Chancellor (Scarle), the Keeper of the Privy Seal, and "great foison" of the King's Council, had been summoned to meet them. They requested that they might see Queen Isabel² and present to her some letters from her father, and were told that they should dine with her the next day. They then asked that on their return they might be taken down to Wales to see the King in person, and were told that they should receive an answer shortly. But it was the Lord's will that Master Blanchet should be taken with the botch (*la boce*³) in the night, and the next day he was so grievously ill that Hangest had to go and see Isabel without him. Accompanied by the Earl of Worcester and his chamberlain, he went down to Havering-at-Bower and found the

¹ Four envoys had been nominated by the King of France on May 23, 1400. (ADD. MS., 30664, 223), their instructions having been previously sanctioned at a council which met on May 7, 1400.—*Ibid.*, 11298. On May 9 Henry granted full powers to his envoys to treat for confirmation of the treaty for the restoration of Isabel, and for the marriage of "one or other sex".—*Ibid.*, 30664, 212.

On May 31, 1400, the French envoys received power to treat for restoration of Isabel and "other matters".—ADD. MS., 30664, 215; *ibid.*, 30660, f. 29; KAL. AND INV., ii. 61; DEP. KEEP. 45th REPT., p. 312. EXCHEQUER TREAS. OF RECEIPT,

Box xi., No. 339A. On July 15 (ADD. MS., 30664, 217), original documents were compared at Leulinghen, and on July 17 the English envoys had been able to fix the very day for her return.—*Ibid.*, 219.

² So pronounced by the English.—See FIFTY E. E. WILLS, 19 (Ysabell). The keeper of her household was called Stephen Ingram.—ISS. ROLL, 8 H. IV., MICH., Nov. 29, 1406; Q. R. WARDROBE $\frac{2}{3}$, m. 4, APPENDIX B.

³ Cf. *la bosse*.—FROISS., XVI., 518. COTGRAVE has *la male bosse*, a plague sore, pestilent botch, contagious bile.

little girl at mass. When the service was over he produced letters from her father and mother and the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, which the Earl of Worcester read over first by way of precaution. All being right, the envoy was told that he might say what he pleased to the young lady, but that it would be better to wait till she had had her dinner. So after she had taken her wine and spices the Frenchman was called in and went down on his knees, the two Englishmen kneeling with him all ears to hear what he would say. But he only told her that her father and mother wanted to know how she was, and that they could not have a greater pleasure than to hear good news of her except it were to see her, how distressed they were to know how ill she had been, and how she had been longing to hear news of them at home, of the Dauphin and "my other lords and ladies, the children her brothers and sisters," and to say that they were all well, and if there was anything in this world that she wanted she must say so and they would do as a father and mother should for their child. She only answered "very humbly" that she thanked God they were so well, and she hoped to see them soon. The Earl then asked if there was anything else to be said, and the Frenchman answered that surely so good a knight must know that there was no love so tender as that of a mother for her daughter, and that he had just a private message from the Queen that he must deliver privately if at all, and then in a playful¹ sort of way he said that if they were so rude as to stay in the room he should keep the message to himself so that nobody would hear it. After a little hesitation the Frenchman was allowed to have his way.

He went alone into Isabel's private room, and she called him aside to her. He told her that her father would do his utmost to get her back, but that she must never by word or promise, or in any other way, enter into any fresh marriage arrangements on pain of her parents' grave displeasure. He asked her if any such proposals had reached her yet, and she said that some ladies and gentlemen about the house had spoken of it several times, but her father need have no fear that she would ever think of it even

¹ En esbatant.—*Cf.* FROISS., XIX., 175; COTGRAVE, s. v. Esbatement,

under threats of death. Then she began to cry most tenderly, and the Earl and his chamberlain were called in and told that it was only her trouble at hearing how much her mother loved her. Hangest thereupon took his leave and returned to London, where he found his colleague, Blanchet, very ill indeed. He went at once to see the Chancellor to ask permission to go down into Wales, but while he was arranging this he was recalled to his hostel, where he found Blanchet unconscious. He¹ died at noon, and messengers promptly arrived requiring that the body should be at once buried without waiting for any religious service.

Nearly a week elapsed before Hangest could get his interview with the King. At length he was told that King Henry was at Windsor,² and on the following day (being Tuesday) he made his way to the Castle and was lodged in the keep and had plenty of knights and squires to attend him. As soon as he had dined he was admitted to an audience with the King. But here the Frenchman was in a difficulty. He had no instructions to bow "as from the King," and no sealed letters to explain who he was, and he was too polite to stand bolt upright, so as he says, "I made the reverence as from myself," and proceeded to open conversation. Hearing that he had no credentials the King told him to step aside till he had consulted his Council. When he was re-admitted Henry asked how it was that he had no credentials. Surely whoever wrote letters to Isabel could write a letter to him. If he brought letters patent let them be referred to the Council and they would see that they were answered. As an envoy from his "cousin" of France he could have nothing to do with him, but if he had anything to say as John Hangest, Lord of Hugueville, let him say it now. The Frenchman replied that he had not come as John Hangest, but as an envoy from the King of France, and if he could not get a hearing he would just have to go back.

¹ In a document dated Ap. 8, 1401, in *TRANSCR. FOR. REC.*, 135, 3, he is *feu* mr. de Blanchet. According to *JUV.*, 419, *both* of them fell ill, Hangest spitting blood.

² *CLAUS.*, 2 H. IV., 1, 19 d, has

a document dated at Tockington, Nov. 20, 1400, which, however, need not necessarily mean that he was there in person at that time.—See *Vol. I.*, p. 148 with *Corrigenda*,

It looked like a rupture if the envoy held his ground. The King was very angry. His manner was fierce and lofty.¹ The Frenchman withdrew again, and the Council was a second time consulted.

Something must be done to get out of this deadlock of etiquette. Presently the Earl of Worcester and the Bishop of Durham came out and asked the Frenchman where he kept his credentials. He told them that they were up his sleeve, but he declined to produce them after having been treated as he had been. They returned to the Council, and immediately afterwards Hangest was called in again. The King expressed his amazement that "such a prince" had sent "such a man" in such a way. No king, duke, prince, or lord ever sent an ambassador without credentials. Nevertheless, for the good and honour that he had found in his cousin of France and other lords of that country he would hear him, though he deserved not to be heard at all. Having gained all this ground the Frenchman spoke out and told the English King that his message was to call upon him to keep his pledged word and to return Isabel before Nov. 1 as had been promised. The King asked him if that was the message that was to bring so much good to the two countries. "Certainly," said the philosophic envoy, "for there is no greater good for prince or any one than to be faithful to his pledged word." And he ended by asking for a speedy answer as it was some time since he had left his home.

After this stormy interview it must have been some surprise to the envoy to find himself invited to take dinner with the King on the following day instead of riding through the streets of Windsor with his face towards his horse's tail. After dinner he asked for his reply and was told to wait another day. The King had a long talk with him, and expressed his great surprise at the "strangenesses"² of the whole transaction. The next day he dined with the King again, and was left to meditate afterwards for two hours while the King consulted his Council. At the end of this time the Earl of Worcester addressed him and told him that the

¹ Vol. IV., p. 141, note 8.

² Des estrangetés. — Cf. COT- GRAVE, s.v.; PROMPT. PARV.,

479.

King of England had every intention to keep his word, but that the claim for repayment of 200,000 francs must be considered in the light of the counter-claim for payment of the ransom of King John. King Henry and Hangest then shook hands. The envoy was allowed another private interview with Isabel, and took his leave for London. Accompanied by the Earl of Worcester and the Bishop he went down again to Havering-at-Bower and found the ex-Queen at her dinner. But instead of seeking his interview in private, the envoy took in his companions as witnesses, and in their presence told the little girl the result of his journey, calling on her openly to do nothing which might in any way prevent her speedy return. She again fell a-crying, clung to him and kissed him, imploring her father only to take her away at once from where she was.

The interest of this remarkable state-paper can hardly be over-stated. For once we step behind the stock phrases of officialism and see the very actors as they lived and talked. But the veil falls as quickly as it rose, and we are left to grope again for scattered facts and undesigned evidences in the dim half-light which shrouds the doings and the character of King Henry and his court. Hangest seems to have made an impression on the King by his out-spokenness and candour, and on the following New Year's Day¹ Isabel received her "year gifts" from her relatives in Paris as usual.

¹ ADD. CH., 6669, Paris, Jan. 29, 1401, refers to New Year's gifts from the Duke of Orleans to "Isabel of France, Queen of England," among others.

APPENDIX I.

NOTE ON CAMPAIGN OF KING RUPERT IN ITALY (1401-2).— VOL. I., P. 253.

On Sept. 4, 1401, King Rupert visited Ratisbon.¹ On Sept. 13 he was at Augsburg,² where he made his son Louis his Vicar-General during his absence. On Sept. 25 he was at Innsbrück,³ where he summoned the Duke of Milan to submit. On Oct. 21 he was at Brescia.⁴ On Nov. 18 he arrived at Padua⁵ with his wife and stayed about a month. He spent Christmas at Venice,⁶ left there on New Year's Day, and waited at Padua till the winter was over. He left Padua on April 15, 1402,⁷ and was back in Germany⁸ in the same month.

¹ RATISBON, 2125.

² DUMONT, II., I, 280; MART., COLL., IV., 84.

³ LÜNIG, CODEX, I., 431. See also letter of approbation to Nicholas, Marquis of Este, same date and place.—*Ibid.*, 1634.

⁴ SOZZOM., 1173.

⁵ Circa xx horam.—DELAYTO, 964.

⁶ ANN. MEDIOL., in MURATORI, XVI., 837; SABELLICUS, II., VIII.; EXCHEQUER TREAS. OF RECEIPT,

Box 12, No. 354, in DEP. KEEP., 45th REPT., 314.

⁷ TROLLOPE, II., 305.

⁸ POGGIO, 144. For his journey see HÖFLER, RUPRECHT, 239-273; MONTREUIL, 1341; JANSSEN, 109, 117; JARRY, 269; ASCHBACH, I., 190, 268; REUMONT, II., 1107. For Bull of Boniface IX., dated Oct. 1, 1403, promising to crown him as Emperor, see RTA., IV., 108. It was notified on the same day to King Henry IV.—*Ibid.*, 112; ENNEN, III., 253.

APPENDIX J.

NOTE ON THE TRADE OF HULL.—VOL. II., P. 74, NOTE 12.

In the account of the collectors of 2/- per tun of wine and 8d. on every £1 value of merchandise,¹ granted March 10, 1401, the small custom taken at Hull for three months from April 3 to July 7, 1401, amounted to £22 9s. od. on 224 tuns of wine and £132 6s. 5½d. on £3866 16s. 1d. value of imports and exports. The exports consist of cloth, pelts, hides, calfskins, thrums, and worsted, together with sea-coal, feathers, tallow, and Derbyshire lead. The imports comprise lampreys, salt, canvas, skreens, flax, board-cloths, cork, alum, clapholts, Spanish iron, ginger, saffron, Paris crisp,² spices, daggers, kelles,³ towels, wax, pitch, bowstaves, wainscots, osmund, seelesmolt, sudoil, righolts, deals, stithies, tonholts, arrow shafts, redwark, greywark, furrur' de watmys, ermines, beaverswombs, poplar, 400 twerñ lewent, copper, redskins, fitchews (*i.e.*, pole-cats), burs' cerat' (? waxed purses), gloves, clay pots, redelesh and fustian, belts, cotton thread, fells de martens, beavers, otters,⁴ hem, wulshetals (? wool-shuttles), lynshetals, a barrel of sungin, crisps, linen-cloth, paper, woad,⁵ 6 pieces of spynall, frails, basins, 6 barrels of Kalmyn, 9 ripp' calab' (? steel), packthread, 10 pieces of Westfale, dudgeon (*i.e.*, boxwood), 6 bunches landiron, botolfiron, 1 last stafiron, liquorice, 4 futt ketells, fresed leather, dogskins, rosin, 2 aght anguill' (*i.e.*, eels), 1 last frueldm̄, spars of fir, planks, masts, 31 pokes of blackhats, 2 shipp' bast', pliting bordes, basboord, cuttle bones,

¹ ROT. PARL., III., 466.

² Fine linen. — HALLIWELL, 280.

³ PROMPT. PARV., 270; CATHOL.,

201; JAMIESON, III., 14; HALLIWELL, 490.

⁴ ROGERS, I., 415.

⁵ From Ribe and Brabant.

specular' (*i.e.*, talc¹), pavingstones, vanbraces, swords, bucklers, horns for lanterns, glass, quernstones, 15 wysp' calabr', 1 fernedall (*i.e.*, fardel) calabis, pattenclogs, bod pr sutoribus, 2^m skenerswark, wall tiles, litmus, 8 dacr' skapefell, 1 chipp' whostan', elkskin, libðfell, fitches of bacon, whetstones, dogfish skins, and skuttefattes.

The vessels are from Newcastle, York, Beverley, Nieuhaven, Kampen, Vilsen, Bremen, Danzig, Schiedam, Amsterdam, Dordrecht, the Gaus of Friesland, Wering, and Anslø (*i.e.*, Christiania).

The small custom at Berwick² averaged £10 p.a. At Bristol³ it was less. For the whole of England, from Sept. 29, 1410, to June 24, 1411, it was estimated at £333 6s. 8d.⁴

¹ REES, ENCYCL., xxxiii., s.v.

² ROT. SCOT., II., 189.

³ HALL, 2, 16.

⁴ ORD. PRIV. CO., II., 10.

APPENDIX K.

LIST OF SOME MÆDIEVAL TRADES AND OCCUPATIONS MENTIONED
IN CONTEMPORARY RECORDS.—VOL. III., P. 187, NOTE II.

D. = DERBY ACCOUNTS.

DR. = DRINKWATER, C. H., MERCHANT GILD OF SALOP, in SHROPSHIRE
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, 1896.

E.H.R. = ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW, October, 1894, with list of
trades at Norwich in 1300.

GL. = GLOSSARY.

S. = SHARPE, CALENDAR OF WILLS.

For a list of trades in Danzig, see HIRSCH, DANZIG, 300-330.

For Oxford (1380), see OXFORD CITY DOCUMENTS, p. 6.

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Alekonner, Vol. III., p. 190.

Alnager, DR. 43.

Amailler, S. I. 259.

Arblaster, Vol. II., p. 93.

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Aveyner, S. I., 173. See *Oatmonger*.

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Bakster, D. 21.

Balister, Vol. I., p. 459.

Bannerer, Banner, Vol. I., p. 362; II., p. 320.

Barbitonsor, Barber, PAT. 13 H. IV. 1, 33; D. 10, 28, 315; E.H.R.

Bargeman, CL. 14 H. IV. 14; D. 28, 209, 219.

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- Beadle, Vol. III., p. 418.
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 Bedewoman, Vol. III., p. 304.
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 Bidman, Vol. III., p. 206.
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 Bordiour, Vol. II., p. 290.
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 Bridlesmith, Vol. III., p. 193. See *Lorimer*.
 Brogger, Vol. III., p. 187.
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 Bucklesmith, S. II. 357.
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 Chapman, CL. 14 H. IV. 8d. 14.
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 Chairmaker, PAT. 12 H. IV. 3, *i.e.*, Whityll of Blythworth, *alias*
 Quydyll, PRIV. SEAL, 652/6988.
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 195, note 6; DR. 43.
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APPENDIX L.

NOTE ON THE COMET OF 1402.—VOL. I., P. 274.

In North Italy its appearance is first recorded on Feb. 23, 1402, in the southern part of the sky with its tail downwards, afterwards in the west. On March 24 and 25 it was in the east before sunrise.—DELAYTO, 968; ANN. MEDIOL. in MURATORI, XVI., 837; ECCARD, I., 1297.

SOZZOMEN (1175) records that it first appeared in Aries.

For connection with the death of Gian Galeazzo at Marignano, see POGGIO, 153; CORIO, 284, b.

In Germany it was assumed to be the harbinger of a pestilence which entered Europe from the south of Italy and spread for twelve years throughout the continent, baffling the doctors and dealing death in a loathsome and mysterious shape among princes and peasants, high and low, churchmen and laymen alike.—TRITHEIM, II., 311. Cf. It is known by philosopheris that the sterre herid or beerdid errith fro hevene in his mouyng and bitokeneth pestilence.—WYCL. (M.), 308; SCOTICHRON., XV., 12; SPONDE, I., 680. See also POSILJE, 256; ONSORG, 368; and CORNER (1185) who refers it to the capture of Wenzel by his half-brother, Sigismund.

RATISBON (2126) can make nothing of it.

For Denmark, see LANGEBEK, I., 137, 193; VI., 231, 233.

For Flanders, see BRANDO, 86.

In Sweden it was seen for two months, morning and evening, from Feb. 15, 1402. See FANT, I., 30, 95.

For Switzerland, see JUSTINGER, 189, 440.

In EUL., I., 286, it is called "the spit" (*qui veru appellatur*).

The Welsh bards called it "Owen's Star".—GUTO-Y-GLYN in CAMBRO-BRITON, I., 344; COWYDD-Y-SEREN in D. WILLIAMS, 218; FAIR WITCH OF GLAS LLYN, I., 106.

For the "Blazing Star," see ROSS in HEARNE, 360; STRUTT, ANGEL-CYNNAN, II., plate XII.

In France some thought that it had foreshadowed the birth of Charles, son and heir of the French King, which occurred on Feb. 28, 1402.—MEYER, 219.

APPENDIX M.

NOTE ON THE ARMS OF DUKE GIAN GALEAZZO.—VOL. I., P. 275.

For the Biscia, il Biscione (great serpent), of Milan, see SYMONDS, I., 132; R.T.A., v., 409; MRS. BURY-PALLISSER, HISTORIC DEVICES, 185, 186. Cf. Ducis anguigeri on epitaph of Gian Galeazzo in MURATORI, XVI., 1038; CHALCO., 102; CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, Plates v., VI. See also the funeral oration of Petro di Castelletto delivered in the palace at Milan, Oct. 20, 1402. *Viperam cum homine*.—MURATORI, XVI., 1047. *Vermem masculum vorantem*.—RATISBON, 2133. Not a child, as LA MARCHE, I., 28, 29; N. AND Q., 18/4/85; GENEALOGIST, III., 12, 231, Oct., 1886. For portrait of him, see WEISSER, 99, 13. In the CHEVALIER ERRANT he is noble chevalier et bel et sages et malicieux.—NOTICES DES MANUSCRITS, v., 574. For Henry's visit to him in 1393, see CAPGRAVE, DE ILLUSTR. HENR., 100. For his death, Sep. 3, 1402, see TRITHEIM, II., 315; ANN. MEDIOL. in MURATORI, XVI., 838; POSILJE, 262; JARRY, 276; HÖFLER, 290; R.T.A., v., 408; PERRENS, VI., 96; PALACKY, III., I., 145; REUMONT, II., 1106.

APPENDIX N.

NOTE ON TIMUR.—VOL. I., P. 317.

Timur used to call himself the Scourge of God.—MARIANA, I., 330. CHERYF-ED-DYN (IV., 198), a contemporary Persian historian, looks upon him as God's medicine, "sometimes bitter, sometimes sweet," sent by Providence to purge the whole world of its corrupt humours. His murders, pillage, and bloodshed, and the "total ruin of an infinite number of God's creatures," he regards as the inevitable "sisters of victory". In his eulogy of him (299) he notes that though he observed the "salutary maxim" of holding councils and calling diets, he never followed their advice, and he reckons it as one of the special marks of Divine favour that he left thirty-seven grandsons and seventeen granddaughters living at the time of his death.

NIEM (227) had seen a picture of Timur, then in the possession of a Christian Bishop who had spent twelve years with him. In this he was represented with the right hand leaning on a stick, the left foot being higher than the right. He had a tall hat sine caputio cinctumque super longas vestes quibus indutus erat zonâ cum perâ in eâ pendente. In front of the hat was a carbuncle, or some other stone of that colour, of the size of a large nut. He had a projecting beard with many precious stones hanging in it. He was per multos annos morbo correptus. Niem had read of him in letters, and believed that the reason why India alone remained unconquered by him was because there were many Catholics there.

APPENDIX O.

NOTE ON LOUIS, DUKE OF ORLEANS.—VOL. III., P. 87, NOTE 8.

ADDITIONAL CHARTERS (BRIT. MUS., 2057-2411) contain a mass of tailoring accounts of Louis, Duke of Orleans, from 1390 to 1404, for attending funerals and marriages, for journeys into Lombardy and Italy, for mourning, for the churching and lying-in of the Duchess, etc., etc. The items include velvets, furs, shoes, scarlet-
vermilion cloth of Brussels, fine black London cloth, hose, green cendal, silk, linen, thread, head-dresses, white satin, fustian, damask, Lucca cloth, bed-clothes, white lambs' fur, robes for huntsmen, green cloth for liveries, embroidering coats of arms, gold girdles on silk stuffs, scarlet cloth for night garments, Lombard fur, shoes felted and roughed, etc., etc. When the Duchess Valentine went into mourning for her father, Gian Galeazzo, £416 12s. 6d. was paid for "sundry parcels of woollen cloth and fur" (2400), Oct. 30, 1402. We have also payments for black velvet collars with 2 rows of gilt studs ornamented with a badge for the Duchess' 2 pet dogs (2584), for parcels of pins (2785), combs (2787), silk curtains against her approaching confinement (2788), down pillows for the baby (2791), tapestry, furniture, velvet hangings, embroidery, Arras, goblets, ewers, spoons, saltcellars, forks, penknives, chandeliers, inkstands for private study (2940-2955), silver-gilt vessels set with rubies, pearls, sapphires, and diamonds (2846), gold buckles, mirrors, clocks,¹ large and small, for which the Duke had a special weak-

¹ For the clock, "a subtle and solemn instrument," see LIB. ALB., III., 304; ACAD. DES INSCRIPTIONS, XVI., 227. For 6d. per day paid to Keeper of Great Clock in Westminster Palace, see ISS. ROLL, 6 H. IV., MICH., Mar. 2, 1405; 14 H. IV., MICH., Nov. 3, 1412.

ness (4265, 4269, 4291), a cross-bow set with diamonds (2916), a pair of gloves of chamois trimmed with fur (3123), and "6 points of silver-gilt to put on the ends of 6 silk laces for lacing the bodies of the Duchess" (3079).

The inventory of jewellery and gold and silver plate deposited by his Treasurer in his Castle at Coucy is dated Feb. 28, 1404 (3115). The whole collection contains abundant evidence of his free-handed generosity in presents on occasions of marriages, baptisms, new-gifts, etc., etc. (2057-2411), but on the other hand he received 100,000 francs d'or for "ordinary annual allowance out of the public revenue (4292, dated Mar. 2, 1403, and 4293, dated Sep. 18, 1405). On Jan. 6, 1397¹ (4273), he gave a window (*verrière*) to the Convent of the Celestins in Paris.

For masses said for his dogs sent on pilgrimage to St. Mesmer pour doubte du mal du rage, for ointment for his sick dogs, and needles for stitching their wounds from a boar, see CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, 93. For his gifts to relics at Rheims, Chartres, and Meaux, see *Ibid.*, 87, where it is shown that he wore a piece of the True Cross round his neck in a little black velvet bag. For his books at Blois, see ÉCOLE DES CHARTES, A., v., 59; also 1873, p. 31; XLIV., 269; LABORDE, 162. For his 7 fools and his love of tennis, see THORPE'S CATALOGUE, p. 157 (1835). For payment to his minstrels, see ANTIQUARY, April, 1885, p. 179. For his marriage with Valentine Visconti at Milan, see MAURICE FOUCHON in ARCHIVES DES MISSIONS SCIENTIFIQUES ET LITTÉRAIRES, 3rd Series, I, VIII. For present from her to Henry IV., as Duke of Lancaster, *i.e.*, a gold buckle set with 3 rubies, 3 pearls, and a sapphire (220 livres tournois), dated May 7, 1399, see ADD. CH. (BRIT. MUS.), 3066. For eulogy of her by DESCHAMPS, see CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, 103. For BONET'S *Apparition*, dedicated to Duke of Orleans to clear her character from charge of sorcery (BIBL. NAT., 7203), see CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, 391-398. For the Duke of Orleans' birth, Mar. 13, 1372, see ADD. CH., 4282; GODEFROY, 531; JARRY, I. For praise of his eloquence by one who had often heard him debate, see ST. DENYS, III., 738; IV.,

¹ ACAD. DES INSCR., XVII., 512.

96; MONSTR., I., 281. For his licence, see ST. DENYS, III., 738; MONSTR., I., 230; BASIN, I., 6; MEYER, 224, 226. On Nov. 15, 1400, he bought the barony of Coucy-le-Chateau from Marie, widow of Henri de Bar, heiress of Enguerrand or Ingelram,¹ Lord of Coucy and Count of Soissons, for 400,000 livres Tournois (each = 22s. 6d.), see MART., COLL., I., 1531; VI., 604; BAYE, I., 301; L'ART DE VER., II., 732; BARANTE, II., 184; DESCHAMPS, I., 193; JARRY, 240; ARCHÆOL. JOURN., XXXV., 167. MELLEVILLE (138) estimates the modern equivalent at 3,500,000 fr. For poem on death of Enguerrand, 1397, see DESCHAMPS, VII., 206. For his wife, Isabel of Lorraine (d. 1437), see Vol. I., p. 85; MART., COLL., I., 1574; VI., 594, 599, 603; HOLT, 26. For a document dated at Coucy, Dec. 16, 1400, see THORPE'S CATALOGUE (1835), p. 155. For the Duke of Orleans' buildings at Coucy, see LEROUX DE LINCY, 559. He was Count of Valois, Blois, and Beaumont, and Lord of Coucy.—MART., COLL., I., 1573.

¹ GENEALOGIST, NEW SERIES, IV., 89.

APPENDIX P.

NOTE ON COCKLAW.—VOL. I., P. 338.

I am indebted to my friend, Mr. Cadwallader J. Bates, for evidence (see *BORDER HOLDS*, I., 99) which proves beyond doubt that Cocklaw is identical with Ormiston, near Hawick (not Ormiston, near Roxburgh, as *RAMSAY*, I., 56) in Teviotdale, and that the two are not separate places as I had wrongly supposed in Vol. I., pp. 338, 339. It is placed in Teviotdale in *SCOTICHRON.*, II., 435.

Cf. James of Gladystanys on a day

Of Cocklawis Lord in Tevidale.—*WYNT.*, IX., 2428.

In 1360 William of Gledstanes (de Gledstanys) was Baillie of the barony of Cavers, near Hawick, for the Earl of Douglas.—*DOUGLAS BOOK*, I., xlvi.; III., 21.

In the same year he received payment pro custodiâ lanæ super marchias ne ad Anglos deferatur.—*EXCHEQUER ROLL OF SCOTLAND*, II., 51, 78.

In 1413 James de Gledstanis is Baillie of the Regality of Sprouston (near Kelso) for the Earl.—*DOUGLAS BOOK*, I., xlvi.

APPENDIX Q.

ITINERARY OF KING HENRY IV.

1399.

- Sep. 30. Westminster.—Vol. I., Pp. 14, 73.
Oct. 6. Westminster, I., 17.
,, 11. Tower, I., 39.
,, 12. Westminster, I., 44.
,, 13. Westminster (*Coronation*), I., 44.
,, 14, 15, 16, 21, 27. Westminster (*Parliament*), I., 46, 51, 52,
65, 66, 67, 72.
Nov. 10. Westminster (*Parliament*), I., 81.
,, 19. Westminster (*Parliament closes*), I., 77.
Dec. 25. Windsor (*Christmas*), I., 94.

1400.

- Jan. 3. Windsor, I., 94.
,, 4. London, I., 95.
,, 5. Hounslow Heath, I., 97.
,, 13. Oxford Castle, I., 105; IV., 141 n.
,, 15. London, I., 107.
June. Ascension Day. St. Alban's, I., 132.
,, 14. Clipstone, I., 132.
,, 21. Pontefract, I., 132.
,, 22. York, I., 132.
July 4. York, I., 133 n.
,, 25. Newcastle-on-Tyne, I., 135.
Aug. 3, 4, 6, 7. Newcastle-on-Tyne, I., 136 n, 137; IV., 248.
,, 8. Felton, I., 138.
,, 12. Fenwick Park, III., 329; IV., 248, 251.
,, 15. Haddington, I., 138,
,, 18, 21. Leith, I., 138; IV., 230, 248, 249.
(287)

- Sept. 2. Newcastle-on-Tyne, I., 139.
 „ 3, 4. Durham, I., 146; III., 292 *n*; IV., 232.
 „ 6. Northallerton, I., 146.
 „ 8, 9. Pontefract, I., 146.
 „ 11, 12. Doncaster, I., 146.
 „ 19. Northampton, I., 147.
 „ 22. Coventry, I., 147.
 „ 23. Lichfield, I., 147.
 „ 26. Shrewsbury, I., 147 *n*.
 Sept. 26—Oct. 19. Raid into Wales, I., 147, 148; IV., 220.
 Oct. 19. Evesham, I., 148.
 „ 24 (*circ.*). Windsor, IV., 262, APP. H.
 Dec. 4. Hertford, CUNNINGHAM, I., 516.
 „ 21. London (*Visit of Emperor Manuel*), I., 161.
 „ 25. Eltham (*Christmas*), I., 161; IV., 220, 222.

1401.

- Jan. 22. Westminster (*Parliament*), I., 168.
 Mar. 9. Westminster, I., 172.
 „ 10. Westminster (*Parliament closes*), I., 212.
 „ 30. Leeds, I., 190.
 Apr. 1-11. Leeds, I., 190; II., 409; IV., 235.
 „ 19. Windsor, I., 190.
 May 20, 24, 26. Wallingford, I., 205 *n*, 217 *n*; IV., 186.
 June 5, 8, 14. Worcester,¹ I., 192, 207, 218.
 „ 21. Wallingford, I., 207.
 „ 24. Windsor, I., 207.
 „ 25. Westminster, I., 207.
 „ 27. Westminster (*For departure of Isabel*), I., 208.
 July 12. Farnham, CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, LETTRES, I., 311.
 „ 20. Selborne Priory, I., 218 *n*.
 „ 21. Bishop's Sutton, I., 218 *n*.
 Sept. 29, 30. Evesham, I., 242.

¹ Staying three days before at Evesham.—I., 218. This year shows also visits to Gloucester, Malmesbury, Hyde Abbey, Alcester, Norton St. Philips, and Woodstock.—IV., 198.

- Oct. 1. Worcester, I., 242.
 „ 8. Bangor, Carnarvon,¹ I., 243.
 „ 13. Mochdre (or Moughtrey), Montgomeryshire, I., 244.
 „ 15. Shrewsbury, I., 244.
 „ 18. Shifnal, I., 244.
 „ 28. Worcester, I., 246.
 Nov. 1. Westminster, I., 246.
 „ 3-13. Hertford, I., 246.

1402.

- Jan. (*s.d.*). Eltham, IV., 198.
 Apr. 3. Eltham (*Betrothal*), I., 262, 306.
 „ 28. Windsor, I., 258.
 May 14. Berkhamsted, I., 258.
 „ 15. Berkhamsted, I., 254 *n.*
 June 16. Kennington, I., 280.
 „ 25. Berkhamsted, I., 283 *n.*
 „ 30. Market Harborough, I., 283, 290.
 July 23. Lilleshall, I., 284.
 „ 26. Lichfield, I., 285.
 „ 29. Burton-on-Trent, I., 285.
 Aug. 1. Tideswell, I., 285.
 „ 4. Ravendale, I., 285, 290, 323.
 „ 7. Tideswell, I., 285.
 „ 15. Nottingham, I., 285.
 „ 26. Lichfield, I., 285.
 „ 30. Kenilworth,² IV., 186.
 Sept. 22. Westminster, I., 287.
 „ 26. Berkhamsted, I., 287.
 „ 30. Westminster (*Parliament*), I., 295.
 Oct. 1-7. Westminster, I., 296; IV., 201.
 „ 8. Eltham, IV., 201, 205.
 „ 9-21. Westminster, I., 297; IV., 201.

¹ Welsh raid. Head-quarters at Strata Florida.

² Some day between Aug. 15 and Aug. 30 he was at Darley in Derbyshire.—IV., 186.

- Oct. 22. Eltham, IV., 201.
 „ 23-28. Westminster, IV., 201.
 Oct. 29—Nov. 1. Eltham (*All Saints' Feast*), IV., 201, 202.
 Nov. 2-24. Westminster, IV., 201.
 „ 25. Westminster (*Parliament ends*), I., 299; I., 323.
 „ 26. Westminster (*Festum Parliamenti*), IV., 201.
 Nov. 27—Dec. 2. Eltham, IV., 201.
 Dec. 3-5. Tower, IV., 201.
 „ 5. Barnet, IV., 201.
 „ 6. St. Alban's, IV., 201.
 „ 7-23. Berkhamsted, IV., 201.
 Dec. 23—Jan. 8 (1403). Windsor (*Christmas*), II., 288 *n*; IV., 201, 221.

1403.

- Jan. 8. Easthampstead, II., 288 *n*; IV., 201.
 „ 9-20. Reading Abbey, I., 310; II., 288 *n*; IV., 201.
 „ 20-27. Farnham, II., 288 *n*; IV., 201.
 „ 28. Clarendon, II., 288 *n*; IV., 201.
 Feb. 4-10. Winchester (*Marriage*), I., 310; II., 288 *n*; IV., 201, 204, 221.
 „ 10. Bishop's Sutton, II., 288 *n*; IV., 201.
 „ 11. Farnham, II., 288 *n*; IV., 186, 201.
 „ 12. Guildford, II., 288 *n*, 437; IV., 201, 205.
 „ 13. Kingston-on-Thames, II., 288 *n*; IV., 201, 203.
 „ 14-24. Eltham, II., 288 *n*; IV., 187, 201.
 Feb. 24—Mar. 3. Westminster (*Coronation of Queen Joan*)¹ II., 288 *n*; IV., 201.
 Mar. 3—Apr. 28. Eltham, II., 288 *n*; IV., 201.
 Apr. 28-30. Windsor (*St. George's Feast*), II., 288 *n*; IV., 201.
 Apr. 30—May 6. Lodge in Windsor Park, IV., 187, 201.
 May 6. Chertsey, IV., 201.
 „ 7, 8, 9. Windsor Park, IV., 201.
 „ 9-20. Easthampstead, IV., 201.
 May 20—June 1. Henley-on-the-Heath, IV., 201.

¹ Day not known. Probably Feb. 24.—II., 288 *n*.

- June 1. Easthampstead, IV., 201.
 „ 2-19. Windsor, IV., 201.
 „ 19. Sutton, IV., 201.
 „ 20-22. Tower, IV., 201, 205.
 „ 23. Sutton, IV., 201.
 „ 23-25. Windsor, IV., 201.
 „ 25-27. Kingston-on-Thames, IV., 201.
 June 27—July 4. Kennington, IV., 201.
 July 4. Waltham, IV., 201.
 „ 5. Hertford, IV., 201.
 „ 6. Hitchin, IV., 201, 205.
 „ 7, 8, 9. Newenham Priory (Beds), IV., 201.
 „ 9, 10. Higham Ferrers, I., 350; IV., 201.
 „ 10. Market Harborough, IV., 201, 205.
 „ 11. Leicester, IV., 201.
 „ 12. Nottingham, IV., 201.
 „ 13, 14. Derby, IV., 201, 206.
 „ 15. Burton-on-Trent, I., 351; IV., 201, 205.
 „ 16-19. Lichfield, I., 351; IV., 201.
 „ 19. St. Thomas' Abbey (? Stafford), IV., 201.
 „ 20. Shrewsbury, I., 360.
 „ 21. Battlefield (*Battle of Shrewsbury*), I., 360.
 „ 22. Shrewsbury, IV., 201.
 „ 23. Lilleshall Abbey, II., 60 n; IV., 202.
 „ 24, 25. Stafford, I., 366; II., 60 n; IV., 202, 205.
 „ 26. Lichfield, I., 366.
 „ 27. Burton-on-Trent, I., 366 n; IV., 202.
 „ 28. Derby, I., 366.
 „ 29, 30. Nottingham, I., 366; IV., 202.
 „ 30. Mansfield, IV., 201, 206.
 Aug. 1. Blyth, I., 366; IV., 202.
 „ 2. Doncaster, I., 366; IV., 202, 206.
 „ 3-6. Pontefract, I., 366, 368 n, 380 n; IV., 202.
 „ 7. Rothwellhaigh, Tadcaster, I., 367; IV., 202.
 „ 8-13. York, I., 367; II., 211; IV., 202, 206
 „ 13, 15. Pontefract, I., 368, 369; IV., 202.
 16. Doncaster, I., 370; IV., 202.

- Aug. 17, 18. Worksop, I., 370; IV., 202; KUNZE, 190.
 „ 19. Nottingham, I., 370; IV., 202.
 „ 20. Leicester, I., 370; IV., 202.
 „ 21. Lutterworth, I., 370; IV., 202.
 „ 22. Daventry, I., 370; IV., 202.
 „ 23. Woodstock, IV., 202.
 „ 26. Beckley,¹ I., 336.
 „ 29. Woodstock, I., 370.
 „ 30. Beckley, I., 370.
 Sept. 2. Woodstock, IV., 202.
 „ 2-10. Worcester, I., 370, 372; IV., 202.
 „ 10. Bromyard, IV., 206.
 „ 11-15. Hereford, I., 374; IV., 202.
 „ 19. Michaelchurch, I., 374.
 „ 21. Devynock, I., 374.
 „ 24. Carmarthen, I., 375; IV., 203.
 Oct. 3. Hereford, I., 375.
 „ 7-14. Gloucester, I., 375, 397 *n.*
 „ 18-27. Bristol, I., 375.
 „ 29. Cirencester Abbey, I., 376.
 Nov. 22. Westminster, I., 376.
 Dec. 3 (*post*). Coventry, I., 385, 393.
 „ 23-29. Abingdon, St. Mary's, I., 396; OLIVER, II., 226.

1404.

- Jan. 11. Sutton, I., 396, 400.
 „ 14. Westminster (*Parliament opens*), I., 400.
 „ 31. London (Lombard Street), IV., 187.
 Feb. 6, 9, 21. Westminster, I., 402, 410, 411.
 Mar. 20. Westminster, I., 414.
 Apr. 6. Westminster, I., 415.
 „ 15 (*post*). Westminster, I., 436.
 May 5. St. Alban's, IV., 187.
 „ 16. Leicester, KUNZE, 190.
 „ 25, 26, 31. Nottingham, I., 437, 448, 456; IV., 189.

¹ For Chipping Norton, see IV., 205. For Cirencester, see IV., 222.

- June 9, 13. Doncaster, I., 448, 457 *n.*
 „ 21 (*before*). Pontefract, I., 450 *n.*
 July 6, 10. Pontefract, I., 452, 458; II., 61.
 „ 11. Bishophthorpe, I., 452, 458.
 „ 19. Wressel, I., 452 *n.*, 458.
 Aug. 26. Leicester, I., 457 *n.*, 458.
 „ 7. Rockingham, I., 458.
 „ 8. Drayton, I., 458.
 „ 11. Pipewell Abbey, I., 458.
 „ 14, 15. Leicester, I., 458.
 „ 21. Leicester, Tutbury, I., 458; II., 330 *n.*
 „ 22. Lichfield (*Great Council*), I., 458.
 „ 25, 28, 29. Lichfield, I., 462, 479 *n.*
 Sept. 1, 3, 6. Tutbury, I., 463, 464 *n.*; II., 284 *n.*; IV., 207.
 „ 8-15.¹ Tutbury, I., 463 *n.*; II., 62 *n.*; IV., 207; ROY. LET.,
 I., 312.
 „ 16, 22. Tutbury, I., 453, 463 *n.*, 464.
 „ 24-28. Tutbury, I., 463 *n.*
 „ 29. Maxstoke, I., 464; IV., 207.
 Oct. 6. Coventry (*Parliament opens*), I., 469.
 Nov. 1, 11. Coventry, I., 472, 479.
 „ 14. Coventry (*Parliament ends*), I., 479.
 „ 16. Kenilworth, I., 479.
 „ 29. Barnet, IV., 189.
 Dec. 24. Eltham, II., 40 *n.*
 „ 25. Eltham (*Christmas*), I., 482.

1405.

- Jan. 15. Westminster (*Council*), II., 12.
 Feb. 14. Kennington, II., 42.
 „ 17. Westminster, II., 43.
 Mar. 1. Westminster (*Great Council*), II., 33, 46.
 „ 10. Barnet, St. Alban's, II., 52; IV., 189.
 „ 12-16. Berkhamsted, II., 49 *n.*, 52.
 „ 28. St. Alban's, II., 53.

¹ For Sept. 13-25 at Ravendale, see I., 463 *n.*

- Apr. 2-7. St. Alban's (*Great Council*), II., 53, 65 n; IV., 189.
 „ 15-24. Windsor, II., 53.
 „ 25, 26. Oxford, II., 170.
 „ 27. Woodstock, II., 170.
- May 3-10. Worcester, II., 170, 172; IV., 223.
 „ 14-23. Hereford, II., 121, 172.
 „ 24-26. Worcester, II., 173.
 „ 28. Derby, II., 228.
 „ 30, 31. Nottingham, II., 228.
- June 1. Nottingham, II., 228.
 „ 2. Doncaster, II., 229.
 „ 3. Pontefract, II., 229.
 „ 6. Bishopthorpe, II., 231.
 „ 8. Bishopthorpe (*Execution of Archbishop Scrope*), II., 232.
 „ 8. York, II., 246.
 „ 8. Green Hammerton, II., 246.
 „ 9-16. Ripon, II., 248, 252.
 „ 19, 20. Durham, II., 255.
 „ 21. Newcastle-on-Tyne, II., 255.
 „ 27. Widdrington, II., 258.
- July 1, 2. Warkworth, II., 252, 259.
 „ 12 (*circa*). Berwick, II., 273; IV., 223.
 „ 14. Alnwick, II., 274.
 „ 16, 17. Newcastle-on-Tyne, II., 274.
 „ 18. Durham, II., 277, 296.
 „ 20-22. Raby, II., 277.
 „ 22. Northallerton, II., 279.
 „ 24-28. Pontefract,¹ II., 279 n.
 „ 28. Blyth, II., 279 n.
- Aug. 4. Doncaster, II., 297.
 „ 7-14. Nottingham, II., 297.
 „ 15-19. Leicester, II., 297.
 „ 22-31. Worcester (*Woodbury Hill*), II., 297, 302.
- Sept. 4, 7, 8, 10. Hereford, II., 304; III., 133; IV., 208.

¹ For documents dated at Pontefract, Aug. 6-12 (1405 or 1406), see II., 279 n, 297 n, 301 n, 448 n; IV., 189.

- Sept. 29, 30. Hereford (*Coity relieved*), II., 305, 306.
 Oct. 1-8. Worcester, I., 486; II., 48, 306, 307; III., 12.
 „ 9. Oxford, II., 307.
 „ 11, 13, 16, 26. Kenilworth, II., 307.
 Nov. 1, 2. Kenilworth, II., 307 n.
 „ 3. Kingsbury (Dunstable), II., 307.
 „ 14, 20. Tower of London, II., 308.
 „ 26. Lambeth, II., 48, 308, 335.
 Dec. 11, 15, 17. Hertford, II., 308.
 „ 25, 26. Eltham¹ (*Christmas*), II., 308; IV., 223.

1406.

- Jan. 7. Eltham, II., 308.
 „ 30. Hertford, II., 308.
 Mar. 1. Westminster (*Parliament opens*), II., 414.
 Apr. 3. Westminster, II., 418.
 „ 12-20. Eltham, II., 419.
 „ 20-22. Greenwich, II., 423.
 „ 25, 26. Windsor, II., 423.
 May 8. Westminster, II., 425.
 „ 30. Durham Place, near Dowgate, II., 432; IV., 223.
 June 7. Westminster, II., 427.
 „ 11, 12. Durham Place, near Dowgate, II., 432.
 July 3. Durham Place, near Dowgate, II., 432.
 „ 8-19. Hertford, II., 432, 448.
 „ 20. Barley, II., 448.
 „ 21. Babraham, Newmarket, II., 448.
 „ 24. Bury St. Edmunds, II., 448.
 Between } Thetford, II., 448.
 July 24 & } Wymondham, II., 448.
 July 31 } Norwich, II., 448.
 Aug. 1, 2. Walsingham, II., 448.
 „ 4. Castle Rising, II., 448.
 „ 7-16. Lynn (*Philippa sails*), II., 448; IV., 3 n, 227, 242.

¹ Thence to Bishop of Durham's Hostel and Earl of Westmoreland's Herber near Dowgate.—II., 308; IV., 223.

- Aug. 20. Horncastle, II., 460.
 „ 21. Bardney, II., 394, 460.
 „ 24, 25. Lincoln, II., 461.
 Aug. 29—Sept. 6. Leicester, II., 461.
 Sept. 8. Northampton, II., 461.
 „ 8. Huntingdon, II., 461.
 „ 8. Pishobury, II., 461.
 „ 13. St. Alban's, II., 461.
 „ 15. Smithfield, II., 461.
 „ 30. Worksop, II., 461.
 Oct. 10. Merton, II., 461; IV., 224, 227.
 „ 13. Westminster (*Parliament re-opens*), II., 461.
 Nov. 2. Westminster, IV., 4.
 Dec. 22. Westminster (*Parliament ends*), II., 476.
 „ 25. Eltham (*Christmas*), II., 478; IV., 224.

1407.

- Jan. 30. Westminster, II., 478.
 Feb. Hertford, II., 479; IV., 224.
 Mar. 18. Hertford, II., 396.
 Apr. 4-8. Hertford, II., 479.
 „ 23. Windsor (*St. George's Feast*), II., 479.
 May 9, 12. Windsor, II., 479 n.
 „ 28. Rotherhithe, III., 106.
 June 1. Waltham Abbey, III., 106.
 „ 2. Leicester, III., 106.
 July 7, 13. Nottingham, III., 107; IV., 224.
 Aug. 1, 12, 16. Nottingham, II., 402; III., 109; IV., 208.
 „ 17. Newstead, III., 109.
 „ 18. Worksop, III., 109.
 „ 19-22. Pontefract, III., 109.
 Aug. 24—Sept. 1. Rothwellhaigh, III., 109.
 Sept. 5. York, III., 109.
 „ 8. Faxfleet, III., 109.
 „ 11, 13. Beverley, III., 110.
 „ 14. Bridlington, Kilham, III., 110.
 „ 16-21. Bishopthorpe, III., 110.

- Sept. 22. Cawood, III., 110, 113.
 „ 30. Nottingham, III., 114.
 Oct. 4. Repton, III., 114.
 „ 10-15. Evesham Abbey, III., 114.
 „ 22. Gloucester Castle (*Parliament*), III., 114, 117; IV., 224.
 Nov. 6. Gloucester Castle, IV., 190, 215.
 „ 16. Evesham (?), III., 117; IV., 215.
 Dec. 5. Gloucester, IV., 234.
 „ 10. Evesham (?), III., 121 *n.*
 „ 11. Gloucester, III., 121; IV., 7.
 Dec. 25—Jan. 11 (1408). Eltham (*Christmas*), III., 122; IV., 215, 224.

1408.

- Feb. 20. London, III., 142.
 „ 21. Westminster, III., 157.
 Mar. 12. Leicester, III., 157; IV., 215.
 „ 16. Nottingham, IV., 215.
 Between Mar. 16 and Mar. 26 } Pontefract, III., 157; IV., 215, 224.
 } Rothwellhaigh, III., 157; IV., 215.
 } Bishopthorpe, III., 157; IV., 215.
 } York, III., 157; IV., 215.
 Mar. 26—April 6. Wheelhall, III., 157; IV., 215.
 Apr. 8. Selby, III., 158.
 „ 8-30. Pontefract, III., 158; IV., 215.
 May 3. Newstead Priory, III., 158.
 „ 8-12. Leicester, III., 158.
 „ 24. Windsor Park, III., 158; IV., 225.
 „ 26. Sutton, III., 158; IV., 190, 225.
 „ 29-31. Tower of London, III., 158; IV., 190, 215, 217.
 June 19—July 12. Mortlake, III., 159; IV., 215, 217.
 July 17-22. Hertford, III., 159.
 „ 23, 29. London (St. Paul's), III., 159.
 Aug. 16. Waltham Abbey, III., 159; IV., 190.¹

¹ For Archbishop Arundel's Itinerary, August and September, 1408, see III., 355.

- Sept. 7. London (Hugh Waterton's Hostel), III., 159.
 Nov. 1. Southwark (Bishop of Winchester's Hostel), III., 159;
 IV., 217.
 " 12. Westminster, III., 159, 365.
 " 15. London (Hugh Waterton's Hostel), III., 159.
 Dec. 8. King's Langley, III., 159; IV., 213, 217, 225.
 " 17. London (Hugh Waterton's Hostel), III., 159; IV., 217.
 " 24. Lambeth, III., 159.
 Dec. 25—Jan. 12 (1409). Eltham (*Christmas*), III., 159, 233; IV.,
 211.

1409.¹

- Jan. 21—Mar. 10. Greenwich (*Will*), III., 234, 243; IV., 10, 190,
 191, 217.
 Mar. 20—Apr. 6. Eltham (*Easter*), III., 244; IV., 225.
 May 1-8. Sutton, III., 245; IV., 217.
 " 9. Windsor Forest (Birdsnest Lodge), III., 245.
 " 20. Windsor Castle, IV., 217.
 May { Windsor Forest,
 Easthampstead, }
 June { Swallowfield, } III., 245; IV., 213, 216.
 July { Henley-on-the-Heath,
 Chertsey, }
 June 1. Windsor Castle, III., 245.
 July (*s.d.*). London (Archbishop of York's Hostel); Smithfield
 (St. Bartholomew's Priory), III., 247; IV., 210,
 212, 213, 225.
 " 23. Holborn (Bishop of Ely's Hostel); London (Arch-
 bishop of York's Hostel), III., 246; IV., 225.
 " 24. Havering-at-Bower, Clerkenwell, III., 246; IV., 225.
 Aug. 4. Windsor (*Feast to Steward of Hainault*), III., 247; IV., 225.
 " 15. Westminster, III., 247; IV., 11.
 " 20 (*circa*). Sutton, III., 248; IV., 12.
 " 22. Beauregard, III., 248.
 " 27. Bagshot, III., 248.
 Sept. 3. Romsey, III., 248.

¹ For Archbishop Arundel's Itinerary in 1409, see III., 258.

- Oct. 3. Windsor, III., 282.
 „ 4. Holborn (Bishop of Ely's Hostel), III., 282; IV., 217.
 „ 5. Windsor, III., 282.
 Nov. 14. St. Alban's Abbey, III., 282.
 „ 20. Berkhamsted, III., 282; IV., 247.
 „ 23. Stony Stratford, III., 282.
 „ 23-25. Northampton, III., 283.
 Dec.¹ 4. Leicester, III., 283.
 „ 15. Northampton, III., 283.
 „ 21. Westminster, III., 283.
 Dec. 26—Jan. 19 (1410). Eltham (*Christmas*), III., 284.

1410.

- Jan. 2. Eltham, IV., 14.
 „ 25. Westminster, III., 300.
 „ 27. Westminster (*Parliament begins*), III., 300.
 Feb. 13. Lambeth, III., 303; IV., 217.
 Mar. 4. Westminster, III., 303.
 „ 19. Lambeth, III., 303; IV., 217.
 Apr. 3. Beauregard, III., 317.
 „ 8. Lambeth, III., 303.
 „ 10. Windsor, III., 317.
 „ 12. Sutton, III., 317; IV., 217.
 „ 15, 20. Windsor, III., 317; IV., 217, 226.
 „ 24, 26. Lambeth, III., 303.
 May 2. Westminster, III., 313.
 „ 11, 12. Lambeth, III., 303.
 „ 14, 25. Windsor, III., 317.
 „ 27. Windsor, Lambeth, III., 303.
 „ 28. Lambeth, III., 303.
 „ 29. Windsor, III., 317.
 June 1-9. Windsor, III., 317; IV., 217.
 „ 16-28. Sonning, III., 317; IV., 217, 226.
 Between { Henley-on-Thames, III., 317; IV., 226.
 June 26 & { Tetsworth, III., 317.
 July 10 { Thame, IV., 217, 226.

¹ For Itinerary of Prince Henry, Dec. 1409, see III., 272.

- July 10, 12, 16, 28. Woodstock, III., 317; IV., 217, 226.
 Aug. 1, 3, 4, 6-8, 16, 18-20. Woodstock, III., 317.
 „ 22. Dadlington, III., 317.
 „ 28. Daventry, III., 317.
 Sept. 6, 14-20, 24, 25, 27. Leicester, III., 317.
 „ 15. Bilton, III., 318.
 „ 21. Oakham, III., 318.
 Oct. 12, 14, 17, 23, 24, 27. Groby, III., 318; IV., 217.
 Nov. 4, 11. Groby, III., 318.
 „ 23. Leicester, III., 318.
 „ 25. Hertford, III., 318.
 „ 25, 26, 28-30. Leicester, III., 318.
 Dec. 1, 3. Leicester, III., 318; IV., 217.
 „ 6, 8. Groby, III., 318.
 „ 9, 14. Leicester, III., 318.
 „ 20. Coventry, III., 318.
 „ 25. Kenilworth (*Christmas*), III., 318; IV., 27, 217, 226.

1411.

- Jan. 8-12, 14, 15, 20, 21, 24, 27. Kenilworth, III., 318; IV., 27,
 217.
 Feb. 4, 6, 9, 16. Kenilworth, III., 318; IV., 27.
 Mar. 15, 17, 19. Lambeth, III., 303, 318, 322; IV., 28.
 Apr. 1. Beauregard, IV., 28.
 „ 9, 10, 12, 15, 16, 20-22, 24, 26, 28. Windsor, IV., 20, 28,
 217, 226.
 May 4, 12, 13. Lambeth, III., 303; IV., 28.
 „ 8, 15. Rotherhithe, IV., 28, 217.
 „ 16. Westminster, IV., 20, 28.
 „ 18, 19, 21, 25, 27, 28. Rotherhithe, IV., 28, 191, 217.
 June 9, 11, 12, 13. Stratford Abbey, IV., 29.
 „ 15. Lambeth, III., 303; IV., 20, 28, 217.
 „ 19, 25. Stratford Abbey, IV., 29.
 July 15, 16, 22, 28, 31. Stratford Abbey, IV., 29, 191, 217, 226.
 Aug. 6. Stratford Abbey, IV., 29.
 „ 11. Lambeth, III., 303 *n*.
 „ 20. Stratford Abbey, IV., 29.

- Aug. 21. Beauregard, IV., 29.
 „ 26. Rotherhithe, IV., 37.
 „ 28. Lambeth, IV., 303 n.
 Aug. 29, Sept. 1. Rotherhithe, IV., 37.
 Sept. 3, 7. Lambeth, III., 303; IV., 30.
 „ 8. Stratford Abbey, IV., 29.
 „ 9, 16, 20, 25, 26. Lambeth, III., 303, 444; IV., 30, 191.
 „ 27. Beauregard, IV., 30.
 „ 28. Birdsnest Lodge, IV., 30.
 Sept. 29—Oct. 2. Beauregard, IV., 30.
 Oct. 6, 7, 9, 11, 13, 16, 18, 21. Windsor, IV., 30.
 Nov. 2. Beauregard, IV., 30.
 „ 30. Westminster, IV., 50.
 Dec. 25. Eltham (*Christmas*), IV., 30.

1412.

- Jan. 11. Charlton, IV., 52.
 „ 12. Eltham, IV., 30.
 „ 13, 16, 18, 22. Stratford Abbey, IV., 52.
 „ 28. Charlton, IV., 52, 191.
 Feb. 1, 7. Eltham, IV., 52, 191.
 „ 12, 16. Tower, IV., 52.
 „ 18. Tower, Eltham, IV., 52.
 „ 22, 26, 28. Canterbury, IV., 52.
 Mar. 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 17, 23, 26, 28, 31. Canterbury, IV., 52.
 Apr. 1, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10. Canterbury, IV., 52.
 „ 16. Tower, IV., 52.
 „ 26. Westminster, IV., 52.
 „ 28. Windsor, IV., 52.
 May 5. Beauregard, IV., 52, 191.
 „ 18. London, IV., 68.
 „ 23, 24. Stratford Abbey, IV., 52.
 June 28. London, IV., 53.
 June 30—July 3. Clerkenwell, IV., 53.
 July 5, 6, 8. London, IV., 53.
 „ 9. Rotherhithe, IV., 53 n.
 „ 11. Westminster, IV., 90.

- July 9-15. Fulham, IV., 53 n.
 „ 17. Croydon, IV., 100.
 „ 19. Rotherhithe, IV., 53 n, 75.
 „ 20. Croydon, IV., 100.
 July 30, Aug. 1. Fulham, IV., 100.
 Aug. 1, 3, 6, 12. London, IV., 100.
 „ 18. Fulham, IV., 100.
 „ 26. London, IV., 100.
 Sept. 12. Tower, IV., 100.
 „ 15, 19. Canterbury, IV., 100.
 Oct. 11, 15, 18, 19, 22, 24, 27, 28. Merton Priory, IV., 101.
 Nov. 3. Croydon, IV., 101.
 „ 4, 6. Merton Priory, IV., 101.
 „ 6, 8-14, 17, 30. Croydon, IV., 101, 191.
 Dec. 1. Merton, IV., 101.
 „ 1, 12, 16, 19. Croydon, IV., 101.
 „ 20. Eltham, IV., 101.
 „ 23. Croydon, IV., 101.
 „ 25. Eltham (*Christmas*), IV., 101.

1413.

- Jan. 1, 4, 5, 12, 14-16, 18, 22-24. Eltham, IV., 101.
 Before Jan. 25. Mortlake, IV., 102.
 Jan. 25. Lambeth, IV., 101.
 „ 30, 31. Eltham, IV., 101.
 Feb. 8. Lambeth, IV., 101.
 „ 5. Greenwich, IV., 103, 191.
 „ 21. Westminster, IV., 103.
 Mar. 20. Westminster (*Death*), IV., 105.

APPENDIX R.

NOTE ON CHESHIRE AND LANCASHIRE MEN AT THE BATTLE OF SHREWSBURY.—VOL. I., P. 357.

The parson of Rostherne was Roger Venables.—*DEF. KEEP.*, 36th REPORT, App. II., p. 494; *ORMEROD*, I., 437; *EARWAKER*, I., 48.

The parson of Pulford was John Kingsley.—*DEF. KEEP.*, 36th REPORT, App. II., p. 387.

The parson of Dodleston was William Clotton.—*Ibid.*, p. 347, or Clopton.—*Ibid.*, p. 441.

The parson of Davenham was William de Legh.—*Ibid.*, p. 293.

The parson of Prees in Shropshire was also present. His name was Nicholas Baxter, and with him was John Cleche, chaplain.—*Ibid.*, 59, 391, 494.

For John and Thomas de Beeston, both killed in the battle, see *Ibid.*, 31, Aug. 3, 1403.

Other Cheshire men present were Bostocks (*Ibid.*, 45), Browe (61), Cholmondeley (107), Don (155), Leftwich (287), Kynaston (274), Massy (333), Nunneley (367), Sparkes (438), Peter de Dutton, kt. (*ARLEY CHARTERS*, XVII.), Peter de Werberton (*Ibid.*, 54, pardon dated Sep. 5, 1403; *ORMEROD*, I., 570).

The county of Cheshire was fined 3000 marks, and the city of Chester 300 marks, after the rebellion had failed.—*DEF. KEEP.*, 36th REPORT, 103 (Nov. 3, 1403).

Many peaceable folk from Maelor (*i.e.*, the detached portion of Flint on the English side of the Dee) had been compelled to join the rebels.—*Ibid.*, 394.

John Richard, chaplain, was imprisoned and outlawed.—*Ibid.*, 55.

John Ambell, clerk, received his pardon Sep. 16, 1403.—*Ibid.*, 4.

For John Malling of Halsall, near Ormskirk, in company of Henry Percy in late rebellion, see *DUC. LANC. REC.*, XI., 15, II, Oct. 12, 1403.

APPENDIX S.

NOTE ON NEGOTIATIONS WITH FLANDERS (1403).—VOL. I., P. 391.

KAL. AND INV. (II., 68) refers to an indenture, dated March 2, 1402 (*i.e.*, 1403, called March 7 in RYM., VIII., 327), between the English Council and 2 envoys¹ from Flanders. Early in 1403, Simon de Formelles,² Doctor of Laws, and Nicholas Skorkin, Canon of St. Donatus at Bruges, had crossed to London and laid their case before the English King and Council.³ The Flemings undertook that any temporary restoration of trade should not be abused for the purpose of sheltering French goods under the protection of the Flemish flag, while English subjects were to be free from arrest in passing to and from Flanders.⁴ Further consideration was postponed till July 1, 1403, when English and Flemish representatives met at Calais and agreed to a treaty⁵ on Aug. 29, 1403. The result of the meeting appeared in 2 "long paper indentures," one of them "containing 3 sheets of small-hand,"⁶ in which it was agreed that Flemish and English prisoners should be released on both sides without ransom, and that no English or Flemish subject was to arm any vessel with-

¹ Called Fremelles and Scorbyn in COMPTE RENDU, 3rd Series, III., 175.

² So called in document dated June 25, 1403, printed in VARENBERGH, 540, from ARCHIVES DÉPARTEMENTALES DE LILLE, B. 1161.

³ March 7, 1403.—Vol. I., p. 381. For explanatory letter from the Duke of Burgundy, dated Melun, Aug. 29, 1403, see DOUET D'ARCO, I., 24.

⁴ See Memorandum, dated Nov. 10, 1403, in VARENBERG, 543, from ARCHIVES DE LILLE, B. 1356.

⁵ "Tretié."—COMPTE RENDU, 3rd Series, III., 176.

⁶ Trois feuilz de menue lettre.

out written permission from the King or the Count stating the reasons for arming and the destination of the cruiser. That all Flemish trading vessels should have the arms of Flanders, and of the town they hailed from, painted distinctly on their prow,¹ and should carry a certificate with a schedule of their cargoes signed by the governor of such town. An adjournment was then made, and by Oct. 1, 1403, the parties were to signify their willingness to meet again on Nov. 10,² and any English goods that had been seized were to be kept in good condition at Sluys until that date.

¹ Au bout du mac de la nef.

² RYM., VIII., 327; VARENBERGH, 543, who quotes also (p. 488) ADD. MS., 14,820, printed in COMPTE RENDU (1861), 3rd Series, III., 175, [where the date of the letter from Henry V. (not IV.) should be 1414 (not 1404),] referring to 2 bales of goods marked ♂, belonging to Thomas Falconer, Alderman, of London, valued at £241 10s. 9d., seized in 2 Flemish ships and carried to Sluys in 1403, and not yet returned when the letter was written (*i.e.*, 1414). For letter dated London, April 29, 1409, announcing that a prolongation of the truce (*i.e.*, from June, 1408. —Vol. II., p. 108) had been generally proclaimed, see COMPTE RENDU, 3rd Series, III., 1861, from ADD. MS., 14820 E.

APPENDIX T.

TABLE OF MONEY VALUES.

English Coins :—

Silver—

1 penny or sterling, with halfpenny and farthing.¹—IV., 44.
1 groat = 4d.—IV., 44; or 7d. (1403).—I., 211 n; IV., 202.

Gold—

1 ferling = 1s. 8d.—IV., 45.
1 mail = 3s. 4d.—II., 237 n; III., 131 n; IV., 45, 81 n.
1 florin (Edward III.) = 6s.—III., 130 n.
1 noble = 6s. 8d.—III., 130 n; IV., 46, 47.
1 mark (not a coin) = 13s. 4d.—II., 336 n, 483.

Flemish Money :—

1 penny (1410) = 4d. (English value), debased to 3d.—IV., 43 n.
1 groat² (1400) = 1s. 1d. (English value) (*circ.*).—IV., 46 n.

*French Money*³ :—

1 penny⁴ (Paris) (1392) = $\frac{1}{7}$ d. (English value).—III., 131 n.
1 blanc (1409) = $\frac{1}{3}$ d. or $\frac{2}{3}$ d. (English value).—II., 98 n.
1 franc (1392, 1409) = 3s. 4d. (English value).—II., 98 n; III., 131 n; IV., 84 n.

¹ For coinage of pennies, halfpennies, and farthings in 1278, see MACPHERSON, COMMERCE, I., 432; WEBB, CXXXI.

² 1 groat (1410) = 24 mites (debased to 18).—IV., 43 n, where the mite probably = $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

³ For list of French coins, see IV., 43 n.

⁴ 16 sol, gd. (tournois) = 1 solidus sterling.—III., 131 n.

1 crown (*écu*) (1398) = 3s. 4d. (English value).—III., 131 n; IV., 81 n.

1 gold franc or gold penny (1362) = 16s. (English value).—III., 131 n.

Italian Money :—

1 small florin (Florence) = 3s. or 3s. 4d. (English value).—III 130 n, 131 n.

1 ducat (1392) = 3s. 2d. (English value).—III., 131 n.

1 gold florin (1393) = 16s. (English value).—III., 131 n.

Portuguese Money :—

1 crown (1405) = 3s. 4d. (English value).—II., 336 n.

Prussian Money :—

1 schilling (1410) = 3½d. (English value).—IV., 81 n.

1 scot (1403) = 3½d. (English value).—IV., 43 n, 46.

1 mark (1411) = 6s. 8d. (English value).—III., 19 n.

Scottish Money :—

1 groat (1375) debased = 3d. (English value).—II., 374 n.

APPENDIX U.

PARLIAMENTS HELD DURING THE REIGN OF HENRY IV.

Place of Meeting.	Date of Opening.	Date of Closing.	Speaker.
1. Westminster	Oct. 6, 1399 (I., 17)	Nov. 19, 1399 (I., 77)	(John Cheyne (John Doreward
2. Westminster	Jan. 21, 1401 (I., 168)	Mar. 10, 1401 (I., 190)	Arnold Savage
3. Westminster	Sep. 30, 1402 (I., 295)	Nov. 25, 1402 (I., 299)	Henry Retford
4. Westminster	Jan. 14, 1404 (I., 400)	Apr. 10 (<i>circ.</i>), 1404 (I., 415)	Arnold Savage
5. Coventry	Oct. 6, 1404 (I., 468)	Nov. 14, 1404 (I., 479)	William Sturmy
6. Westminster ¹	Mar. 1, 1406 (II., 408)	Dec. 22, 1406 (II., 476)	John Tiptot
7. Gloucester	Oct. 24, 1407 (III., 116)	Dec. 2, 1407 (III., 121)	Thomas Chaucer
8. Westminster	Jan. 27, 1410 (III., 310)	May 9, 1410 (III., 315)	Thomas Chaucer
9. Westminster	Nov. 3, 1411 (IV., 41)	Dec. 19, 1411 (IV., 50)	Thomas Chaucer

¹ Prorogued June 19, 1406 (II., 431), to Oct. 13, 1406 (II., 461).

APPENDIX V.

LIST OF CHIEF OFFICERS OF STATE DURING THE REIGN OF HENRY IV.

Chancellor :—

John Scarle—appointed Sep. 5, 1399 (I., 28); resigned Mar. 9, 1401 (I., 172).

Edmund Stafford—Mar. 9, 1401 (I., 172); Jan., 1403 (I., 301).

Henry Beaufort—Feb. 28, 1403 (III., 264 *n*); Mar. 1, 1405 (III., 264 *n*).

Thomas Langley—Mar. 14, 1405 (II., 344); Jan. 30, 1407 (II., 478).

Thomas Arundel—Jan. 30, 1407 (II., 478); Dec. 21, 1409 (III., 283).

Thomas Beaufort—Jan. 31, 1410 (III., 301); Dec. 19, 1411 (IV., 51).

Thomas Arundel—Dec. 19, 1411 (IV., 51); till end of reign.

Treasurer :—

John Norbury—Oct., 1399 (I., 28); May 23, 1401 (I., 173).

Lawrence Allerthorpe—May 23, 1401 (I., 173); Mar. 1, 1402 (I., 173).

Henry Bowet—Mar. 1, 1402 (I., 173); Oct. 25, 1402 (I., 301 *n*).

Guy Mone—Oct. 25, 1402 (I., 301 *n*); end of 1403 (*circ.*).

William, Lord de Roos—before Jan. 25, 1404 (I., 402); after Nov. 21, 1404 (I., 112 *n*).

Thomas Nevil, Lord Furnival—Dec. 13, 1404 (II., 112); Mar., 1407 (III., 129).

Nicholas Bubwith—Apr. 16, 1407 (III., 129); July 15, 1408 (III., 129).

John Tiptot—July 15, 1408 (III., 129); Dec. 11, 1409 (III., 284).

Henry, Lord Scrope of Masham—Jan. 6, 1410 (III., 284); Dec. 16, 1411 (IV., 51).

John Pelham—Dec. 20, 1411 (IV., 51); Mar. 20, 1413 (IV., 51 *n*).

Keeper of Privy Seal:—

Richard Clifford—Oct., 1399 (I., 28); end of 1401 (*circ.*) (II., 344).

Thomas Langley¹—before Apr. 3, 1402 (II., 344); Mar., 1405 (III., 128).

Nicholas Bubwith—Mar., 1405 (III., 128); Oct. 4, 1406 (III., 128).

John Prophet—Oct. 4, 1406 (II., 484; III., 128); to end of reign (?).

Chamberlain:—

Thomas Erpingham—Oct., 1399 (I., 28).

John Beaufort—Nov. 4, 1399 (I., 75 *n*); Mar. 16, 1410 (III., 304).

Seneschal or Steward:—

Thomas of Lancaster—Oct., 1399 (I., 29).

Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester—Mar., 1401 (I., 173); July, 1403 (I., 351).

Constable:—

Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland—Sep. 30, 1399 (I., 25 *n*); July, 1403 (I., 368).

John of Lancaster, third son of Henry IV.—Sep. 10, 1403 (I., 368 *n*); to end of reign.

Marshal:—

Ralph Nevil, Earl of Westmoreland—Sep. 30, 1399 (I., 26); to end of reign.

¹ John, Lord Lovell, is Keeper of Privy Seal in Jan., 1403.—I., 301.

APPENDIX W.

NOTE ON SOME CLERICAL ERRORS IN RECORDS, VOL. I.,
P. 363, NOTE 4; VOL. II., P. 435, NOTE 5.

- II., 287, note 4—*Isabel* for *Joan*.
II., 385, note 5—Death of Robert III. (Apr. 4, 1406) referred to in an account closed on Mar. 17, 1406.
II., 431, note 4—*1406* for *1405*.
II., 448, note 13—*1406* for *1405*.
II., 461, note 2—*24th* for *29th*.
III., 137, note 1—*William* for *Robert*.
III., 240, note 2—*Jaie* for *Ive*.
III., 284, note 5—*William* for *Thomas*.
III., 301, note 3—*Beaufort* for *Arundel*.
III., 317, note 10—*1411* for *1410*.
IV., 159, line 14—*John* for *Richard*.
IV., 176, lines 7, 20—*John* or *Thomas* for *William*.
IV., 177, line 10—*March* for *May*.
IV., 189, note 9—*1406* for *1405*.
IV., 223, note 5—*Hertford* for *Hereford*.
IV., 224, line 25—*Towing* for *Tawing*.
IV., 228, line 5—*23rd* for *20th*.
IV., 243, line 20—*Bynviegh* for *Denbigh*.
IV., 248, line 3—*Westmarch* for *Eastmarch*.
In DEVON, 305, “King of the Romans” should be “King of Denmark.”
- In REC. ROLL, 10, H. IV., Mich., Nov. 5, 1408, the Bishop of Norwich is “*Henricus*,” though Henry le Despenser had been dead two years and Alexander Totington had been consecrated more than a year previously.—Vol. III., 2, 139.

In ISS. ROLL, 10, H. IV., Mich., Nov. 8, 1408, Blanche is entered as married to *Rupert* instead of *Louis*.

In ISS. ROLL, 8, H. IV., Mich., Dec. 13, 1406, her husband is called Duke of *Navarre* instead of *Bavaria*.

In REC. ROLL, 10, H. IV., Pasch., July 16, 1409, Edward Lord of Powys pays £200 for custody of lands of *Edmund* (instead of *Roger*) Earl of March.

ISS. ROLL, 10, H. IV., Pasch., May 17, 1409, has *Comitis Burgundiæ* instead of *Ducis*.

FRENCH ROLL., 7, H. IV., 15 (RYM., VIII., 425) has "*Hicke*" for "*Lykke*."

In ROT. VIAG., 9, H. IV., 7, an entry is dated Sep. 31 (*sic*).

APPENDIX X.

NOTE ON THOMAS CHAUCER.—VOL. III., PP. 116, 259.

There seems no sufficient reason to doubt that Thomas Chaucer, the Speaker, was the son of Geoffrey Chaucer, the poet. The relationship is authenticated by:—

(a) A pedigree drawn up by the herald Glover in the time of Elizabeth. (Printed in SPEGHT.)

(b) The Roet arms on tomb of Thomas Chaucer at Ewelme.—GENT. MAG., Vol. 263, p. 492; SPEGHT, FRONTISPIECE; GOUGH, III., 106; HAINES, 60.

(c) A letter in FAC-SIMILES OF NAT. MSS., I., XXXVII.; DEP. KEEP., 26th REPORT, p. 60 (reprinted in 1887), dated Waltham, June 6, and signed "H. W." It has been supposed to be a letter from Henry, Prince of Wales, to his father, Henry IV., on the occasion of his marriage in 1403, but internal evidence shows that it refers to the Peace of Troyes and the marriage of Henry V., which took place on Trinity Sunday, June 2, 1420. The writer was evidently Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, whose undoubted autograph closely resembles this.—See J. G. NICHOLS, AUTOGRAPHS, 3 A. In the letter he refers to his "cousin Chaucer," *i.e.*, Thomas, whose mother, Philippa, wife of Geoffrey Chaucer, was the sister of Catherine Swinford, the Bishop's mother.—STUBBS, III., 63; HOLT, 141, 166.

(d) The seal of Thomas Chaucer, which is the same as that of the poet Geoffrey.—SCROPE AND GROSVENOR, II., 412; ARCHÆOLOGIA, XXXIV., 42, where the inscription is probably "Thomai," not "Geofrai" or "Ghofrai."—CHAUCER (S.), I., L. For fragments of the seal of Geoffrey, see ATHENÆUM, 28/1/88, p. 116.

(e) The fact that Thomas succeeded Geoffrey as Forester of

Petherton in Somersetshire.—ATHENÆUM, 20/11/86; POLLARD, 10, 17; CHAUCER (S.), I., XL.

(f) The statement of Thomas Gascoigne (pt. II., p. 377), "Fuit idem Chawserus pater Thomae Chawserus armigeri qui Thomas sepelitur in Nuhelm (*i.e.*, Ewelme) juxta Oxoniam".—ATHENÆUM, 31/3/88.

(g) The fact that Geoffrey came of a stock of vintners, and that his father had been Deputy for the King's Butler at Southampton.—POLLARD, 4; CHAUCER (S.), I., XV.; ATHENÆUM, 19/11/92, p. 704. This seems to be the opinion of SKEAT, CHAUCER, I., XXI. The opposite opinion is held by FURNIVALL, N. AND Q., 1872, p. 381; SCHICK, LYDGATE TEMPLE OF GLAS, CLIX.; A. W. WARD, 52-55, who considers the relationship to be "apocryphal" (109); RAMSAY, I., 109 (referring to SKEAT'S INTRODUCTION TO CHAUCER'S WORKS, I., 37). See also N. AND Q., 8th Series, III., 473, 17/6/93. MORRIS, INTRODUCTION TO PROLOGUE, XIII., is doubtful. So also POLLARD, CHAUCER, p. 10, who, however, misses the relationship with Bishop Beaufort. Also SKEAT, CHAUCER, I., LII.

APPENDIX Y.

NOTE ON THE BURNING DEATH.—VOL. I., P. 187.

Whether Sawtre was the first Englishman who was burnt for heresy or not, it is certain that the mediæval world was quite familiar with the burning death as a form of punishment both for men and women.

For clippers of coin, see IV., 46, note 6.

For lepers, see II., 251, note 3.

For traitors, see II., 43.

For burning of Alice Atte Bowe in 1284, for inciting to murder her paramour in church, in London, see PECKHAM REG., III., LIII.; PRICE, 46.

For heretics, *cf.* Antichrist (*i.e.*, the Devil in the Temptation, MATT., IV., 1) seith that if men denyen it (*i.e.*, God's power) thei shal be cursid, slayn and *brent*.—WYCL. (A.), I., III. Thei ben somynned and put in prison and *brend* and kild as worse than theves.—*Ibid.*, 205. Thus the Pope and his cardinalis smatchen ofte heresie for they brennen men as heretikes for (*i.e.*, because) thei maynteynen Goddis lawe.—*Ibid.*, II., 126. So that he brenne as sum men done in heresie.—*Ibid.*, 266; III., 294, 309, 376, 393. *Brenne* pore prestis.—*Ibid.*, 495.

In 1215 the Inquisitor Conrad of Marburg employed the red-hot iron in Germany as a means of convicting those suspected of the Albigensian heresy, and in one year examined by this means 80 persons in Strasburg, nearly all of whom were afterwards sent to the stake.—LEA, ON THE ORDEAL.

For the Cathari or Catharists (Albigensians), see ALZOG, II., 661; SCHMIDT, C., HISTOIRE ET DOCTRINE DE LA SECTE DES CATHARES ON ALBIGEOIS (Paris, 1849); C. MOLINIER (Paris,

1888); DÖLLINGER, J. (Munich, 1890); ECOLE DES CHARTES, XLI., 605; LI., 183; DUCANGE, s. v., CATHARI; PERRRENS, I., 340. They said that everything was made by the Devil. That dogs (*canes*) sprang from the blood of Cain, and that that was why they were so faithful to man. They denied the bodily resurrection of Christ, and had original views about the Bible, e.g., they called David an adulterer and a murderer, and said that the stories about Abraham, Isaac and Jacob were written by the Devil. They would have no swearing, and said that Salvation came from a renewal of the Spirit.—See D'ACHERY, XIII., 63.

FULLER (II., 63) quotes CANON LAW, DE HÆRET., cap. 9 et Lit. eodem cap. 4 in Sexto, for the statement that a relapsed heretic should be *sæculari iudicio sine ullâ penitus audientiâ relinquendus*. LYNDWOOD, who wrote his *Provinciale* in 1430, quotes Archbishop Arundel's Constitutions. His commentator enlarges in a long note on the penalties of heresy to a Constitution of the Emperor Frederic II. (temp. Henry III.) to prove that those who are condemned by an ecclesiastical judge ought to be burnt to death by the secular authority *per eos debent comburi seu igne cremari* (LYNDEWODE, v. 5, p. 293), that a heretic shall not be buried in cymeterio, none shall pray for him, his children cannot inherit and his vassals are freed from obedience.—See also NIEM, CONTRA WICLEV., 185.

In 1276 a woman, aged 60, was burnt in the south of France for sexual intercourse with Satan.—JANUS, 253.

In 1327 or 1328 (Low Sunday.—CAREW MSS., 150) Adam Duff was publicly burnt on "The Hogges" (now College Green), just outside Dublin, for denying the Incarnation of Christ, the Trinity, the Chastity of the Virgin Mary, and the resurrection of the dead. He declared the Scriptures to be fables and the Pope capable of error.—GILBERT, DUBLIN, III., 3; ST. MARY'S CHARTULARY, II., 366.

For burning of Petronilla of Meath at Kilkenny in 1325, see GILBERT, 161; ST. MARY'S CHART., II., 363; KYTELER (1843); MASON, 121.

For letter of Benedict XII., Heretics in Ossory, 1334, from THEINER, see GILBERT, 537.

For decretals of John XXII. (1316-1334) denouncing sorcery as heresy and requiring the secular power to carry out the orders of the ecclesiastical authorities, see GILBERT, 154.

For burning of witches since 1350, see BARTOLO, in JANUS, 254.

For witchcraft, see GOWER, CONF., 329; HOWELL, STATE TRIALS, I, 117; GERSON, I., 210; DEL RIO, DISQUISITIONES; YORK MANUAL, 120.

An Act of 33 Henry VIII., c. 8, order witches to suffer death or forfeiture as felons. Repealed 1 Edward VI., c. 20, but re-enacted 5 Elizabeth, c. 16.—N. AND Q., 13/12/86, p. 468.

In 1375 a heretic was burnt at Bern, "die man nempt des fryen geestes."—JUSTINGER, 147 (406).

In 1399 130 persons, men and women, rich and poor, were convicted of heresy at Bern, but recanted and were fined £3000; Got weis of si den eid alle stete gehalten hand won ich gloub es nit.—*Ibid.*, 186.

In 1388 a lady of high rank was taken in the act of adultery with a priest. He was put to death in prison, and she was burnt at Bermondsey.—MALVERN, in HIGDEN, IX., 173.

On Dec. 22, 1389, Jean de Betisac, collector for the Duke of Berry in Languedoc, was burnt at Toulouse. Cf. Vos paroles demandent le feu.—FROIS., XIV., 67; XX., 322. Though it was necessary first to entrap him into declaring himself a heretic "that the Church might catch him" ("l'Eglise de calengera."—FROIS., XIV., 68).

In 1400 the Electors charged Wenzel with drowning and *burning* many prelates, monks, priests and students without cause.—TRITHEIM, II., 309.

In 1401, at Diessenhofen on Lake Constance, a Jew was said to have offered 3 florins to a man to decoy a Christian child, 4 years old, in order to kill him and collect his blood. The Jew made a confession and was burnt alive. 30 Jews were at the same time burnt at Schaffhausen, 27 at Winterthur, and many others in neighbouring places.—TRITHEIM, II., 313.

In Lent, 1402, a woman was burnt for heresy at Danzig.—POSILJE, 261.

On Dec. 20, 1402, a woman in Paris la dicte Isabellet a estre arse.—CHOIX DE PIÉCES, I., 245.

And in the same year a fanatic who had trampled on a cross was burnt at Lübeck with great solemnity before a vast crowd of people after a "glorious sermon" had been preached by the Inquisitor.—CORNER, 1186; SPONDE, I., 690.

In 1403 two men were burnt for heresy in Lübeck and a woman at Rostock. The latter was just about to be fastened to the stake when her half-brother implored her to recant. But she scornfully cried: "Be silent, you never were born from *my* loins."

For heretics in Poland, see KRASINSKI. For Hungary, see DUMONT, II., I, 288, Oct. 5, 1403; ROUSSET, I., 308, Mar. 6, 1404; GASCOIGNE; J. C. ROBERTSON, Vol. VII.

APPENDIX Z.

NOTE ON FLAGELLANTS.—VOL. I., P. 173.

In the early spring of 1399 a priest crossed the Alps from France into Italy and stirred the whole country to one of those strange epidemics of "periodical penitential frenzy" which "served as a sort of mediæval blood-letting for religious minds in periods of national excitement."¹ In Northern Italy crowds flocked to join him; men and women, gentles and simples, monks and nuns, bishops, priests, traders of every age and every rank swelled the throng. Robed in white linen from head to foot, with faces masked so that nothing could be seen but the eyes, they marched in bands of 10,000, 20,000, or even 40,000,² from city to city. They had red crosses stitched on their dress. They carried crosses in their hands and a crucifix on their banner. Day after day they passed from place to place chanting hymns to Christ and His Mother, calling aloud on God for mercy, peace and unity. Then at intervals they stripped to the waist and scourged each other on the shoulders as they sang and trudged along. At night they slept in the fields or by the road-side. They carried nothing with them, yet everywhere the people pressed upon them food and shelter. Flesh-meat and milky stuffs they steadily rejected, and the day was one long luxury of confession, communion, flagellation and fasting. They passed through Genoa to Lucca, Pistoja, Florence and Viterbo, gathering fresh impetus as they neared the Holy City.³

¹ MILMAN, IV., 396.

² ANN., 322; HECKER, 32; ALZOG, II., 1057.

³ MANETTI, in MURATORI, XIX., 1068.

Pope Boniface at first had patronised the movement, giving to the sympathisers in Rome his solemn blessing daily and showing the Veronica or holy napkin in St. Peter's Church, but as the ferment swelled and threatened to become unmanageable he set his face against it. He knew that the leader of the movement had come from beyond the Alps, and he feared the effect of a cry for unity among the excited multitudes who would soon flock in to the jubilee. Accordingly, when the bands from the north had reached Viterbo he sent troops to seize the leader, had him brought to Rome and burnt him, and the swarms of white-robed flagellants melted away.¹

¹ANN., 322; MEYER, XIV., p. 217; PLATINA, 277; LEVYANT, 102. For the excitement of 1400, *cf.* L'an mil cccc je me doubt d'estre monarchies muées.—DESCHAMPS, V., 163, 221, 226, 370. Approchans la finicion du monde.—*Ibid.*, VIII., 161. Hui est li temps de tribulacion.—*Ibid.*, I., 292; VIII., 130.

Temps de douleur et de temptacion

Aages de plour d'envie et de tourment

Temps de langleur et de damnation

Aages meneur pres du definiment.—*Ibid.*, I., 113.

Also *Ibid.*, I., 143, 220, 240, 279, quoting Joachim de Flore and Methodius Patriarch of Constantinople, 1240. See also "The Last Age of the Church," p. xxxi. (written 1356), wrongly attributed to Wycliffe.—J. H. TODD, Dublin, 1840.

APPENDIX AA.

LETTER OF SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE TO KING WENZEL.—VOL. III.,
P. 462, NOTE I.

Serenissimo ac Illustrissimo principi ac domino domino Wenceslao Romanorum et Boemie Regi, Moraue Marchioni et principi luczburgensi.

Salus ab eo qui est, et qui de lapidibus filios Abrahe potens est suscitare. Ille, inquam, salutet, corroboret, confortet et custodiat in omni bono per infinita secula seculorum. Cum fama placens animum delectat et cor in gaudium ingens prouocat, hinc est, Serenissime princeps, quod fama vestre strenue milicie in euangelio Christi, michi per magistrum hus, iudicio meo cristi sacerdotem, nec non alios litteratenus intimata, animum meum leticia quamplurimum cibauit, et cor in gaudium exiliens ossa nec non membra medulauit, et me quamuis minus dignum vestre serenitati scribere adarmauit, cum amor non ociatur. O quam suaue, quod Wenceslaus, Romanorum et Boemie Rex exemplum et speculum primicieque ceterorum regum, zyzaniam, falsos sacerdotes, in oreum congregatam sagaciter et studiose a tritico segregauit, et triticum, veros christi sacerdotes, in statu euangelice paupertatis corroborauit. O quam delectabile, tam excellens princeps excellens miles christi effectus est. O quam mirum et inaudibile sed nimirum laudabile, Regem modernis temporibus officium status sui practisare! Nec dubito, quin sententia Augustini in epistola ad Bonifacium, docens regale officium, vos adarmauit, que insinuat, primo regem debere seruire deo, suas leges legi dei regulando, adversantes Christi legi destruendo et populum ad obseruanciam mandatorum domini compellendo, cum sitis vicarius diuinitatis. Et si sic indubie Regnum vestrum,

magnifice Rex, indiuisum stabit, quoniam non diuiditur nisi per transgressionem mandatorum domini, nec vnitur nisi per obseruanciam eorundem, et sic misericordia et virtute si custodiemini, et clemencia roborabitur tronus vester et per consequens dissipator omnis mali efficiemini in destruendo falsos fratres nec non prelatos, et intuitu vestro tamquam rugitu leonis terrentur. O vtinam deus daret perseueranciam gracie. Illustrissime princeps, vestre maiestati nec non toti vestre euangelice communitati, Baronibus Militibusque doctrina Christi nec non zelo caritatis ad seruicium, sine preiudicio mei legalis domini, cum omnibus amicis meis nec non mihi in via veritatis euangelice adherentibus me offero et sum presto, quoniam non paucos animosius ad verbum dei exemplo vestro prouocastis. O vtinam regibus vniuersis dominus tale cor daret aut tantum Daniele, qui sic sollicite pro lege dei se poneret, in cunctis mundi climatibus suscitaret et vos magis ac magis in legis domini practica stabiliret et post vitam eternam condonaret, quod patrare dignetur cuius regnum nunquam destruetur.

Scriptum londonie septimo die Septembris.

per vestrum humilem seruitorem,

Johannem Oldecastellum militem,
dominum de Cobham.

APPENDIX BB.

NOTE ON PHILIPPE DE MÉZIÈRES.—VOL. III., P. 108.

There is extant a lengthy but instructive tract, written in 1396 a few months after the battle of Nicopolis, in the form of a letter. It was written while negotiations were going on for the release of the French prisoners, and is addressed to the Duke of Burgundy and the Kings of France, England, Bohemia and Hungary. The writer was Philippe de Mézières,¹ who was by that time an old man and had probably seen more of the world than any of his contemporaries.

He was born near Amiens in 1321, but left his country early for the East. When quite young he had been captured by pirates at Messina in Sicily (401), but had escaped and entered the service of Hugues de Lusignan (507), King of Cyprus, in whose employ he had first visited the Holy City of Jerusalem more than 50 years before. He remained in the service of Hugues and his 2 successors, Peter I. and Peter II., for about 30 years (478), during which time he found himself in close and intimate contact with Turks and Saracens, and was said to have even served for a year in their armies.² From the very moment of his early visit to Jerusalem it had been a fixed idea with him to stir all Christian Kings "to war against the Saracens and recover the Holy Land." To this end he spent 15 years of his life "passing

¹ See Memoir by Lebœuf in ACAD. DES INSCR., XVII., 491, also his note (*Ibid.*, XVI., 219), on his writings, though he does not seem to have known of this letter. For letter to the Doge of Venice, dated 1377, see EC. DES CHARTES (1873), p. 84.

² MORON, s.v.

from East to West and from South to North" (507). He accompanied Peter I. as his Chancellor to all the courts of Europe, visiting Rome, Venice, Milan, Bologna, Avignon, Paris, Germany and Flanders, and was present at the capture of Alexandria in 1365. He afterwards returned to Paris, where in 1378 the French King, Charles V., made him one of his councillors with an allowance of 2000 gold francs per annum. As age crept on him he withdrew from the busy world to the solitude of the monastery of the Celestins, close to the Royal Hostel of St. Pol, where he could mortify his body to his heart's content and still receive friendly visits from the King and members of his court while he mused over the decay of the Faith and meditated on the wrath of God falling heavy on the sins of Christendom.

He was now 85 years of age and was expecting death,¹ and from the depths of his solitude he penned his "lamentable and consolatory epistle" to the Duke of Burgundy, offering him a "little ointment, morally speaking," and a "soothing plaster" for the wound that he had suffered in the captivity of his son (476). In deep abasement he calls himself a "poor vile sinner" (491), a "poor old idiot" (459), and an "old solitary who for his very great sins is not worthy to be named." But everybody knew who he was, nevertheless. He was in constant communication with the King and the Duke of Orleans,² and age had not dimmed his style nor checked his wonderful faith. Hearing of the fatal disaster on the Danube as he sat at his writing, he let fall his pen, and placing his old head between his hands on the table, he sighed and groaned and talked with God.

He seemed to be "in the old chapel of the Infirmary" which he had built, when suddenly he saw a tall man, with face deadly pale and disfigured, his feet bare and his head uncovered. With his right hand he leaned upon a staff, and he was clad in a common white Turkish frock, old and torn, and girt with a rope. The figure kneeled and sobbed out a prayer, then turned and stood before the solitary, who now recognised the spirit of his friend Jean de Blaisy who had just fallen in the battle. On his advice

¹ For his will, dated 1392, see III., 296, note 2; IV., 109, note 9.

² MONSTR., I., 229; GODEFROY, 645.

he writes his "rude and feeble" epistle (452, 513) "all watered with tears" (488).

After a tediously cautious introduction, it bears on every page the evidence of his own peculiar style. It is stuffed with proverbs and wise saws, "examples, parables and doctrines" (452), as full as an egg.¹ It mixes up long-winded disquisitions on Madame Discretion or Lady Discipline and her brach Obedience with the old garrulous habit of anecdotes about the good old days in Cyprus.² It recommends patience and submission to the will of God, and then proceeds to practical proposals.

Either the prisoners must be ransomed, in which case immense sums will be required, or else the Western Powers must fight. He shows himself thoroughly familiar with the history of Turkish conquests both in Europe and Asia (510). He scolds the Turks as rascals,³ and believes them to be by nature fierce, cruel, treacherous, and "ill-doctrined,"⁴ but while distrusting them to the full he has a worse horror of "false Christians" who would "sell their fathers for money" (481).⁵ He knew that Bajazet had over 150,000 disciplined troops (511), that he had over-run all Greece and Bulgaria and carried his conquests to the Danube and the Adriatic, yet he liked to flatter himself with the tradition that for the last 50 years they had not taken a single fortress from the Christians, while on the other hand the Christians had captured many cities in Turkey and Armenia, and that only 7 years ago the Turkish Emperor Amurath had met with a severe check when marching against Lazarus, a petty prince of Wallachia (511).⁶ He believed accordingly that if the Christian Powers of the West would put themselves under strict discipline and withstand their enemy to the face, the strength of the Turks might yet be broken and Christendom be saved.

In face of the coming danger he seriously propounds for the

¹ ACAD. DES INSCR., XVI., 431.

² Cf. p. 484 with ACAD. DES INSCR., XVI., 230.

³ "Les larrons Turs."—455. ⁴ "Mal endoctriné."—478.

⁵ For his contempt for merchants, see LEBŒUF, ACAD. DES INSCR., XVII., 501.

⁶ Cf. FROIS., III., 218.

thousandth time his old suggestion for a new crusade by his new Brotherhood of the Passion. All Christian Europe is to combine. 100,000 men are to collect from France, England, Scotland, Lombardy, Tuscany, Rome and Sicily. They are to serve at their own expense (503, 505), and France is to be the head, but they are to be one in name, in dress, in rule, and in manner of living. They are to sail from Venice, to carry a portable city or Noah's Ark (501) wherever they go, and strike at Turkey in the head and not the tail.¹ Another detachment of 100,000 men is to be gathered from Germany and Northern Europe, and to march by Hungary on Constantinople, conquering "by holy lives," and not by battle, to show the virtue of the Cross. Having carried all before them they would cross the Marmora (*le bras Saint Jorge*) and join the first detachment from the West. A third great gathering (80,000 strong) would collect in Spain, attack "the enemies of the Faith" in Granada and Barbary, and "in course of time" roll them up to Alexandria. It is true that he has great doubts (*grant doubtance*) as to the feasibility of this Platonic scheme for the "conversion or confusion or destruction of the false sect of Mahomet and all idolatry" (498), and has had a very disheartening experience of the willingness of Christian crusaders to live in "fraternity and true obedience to their leaders," but undeterred by former failures he prefers to believe that victory is from Heaven and not in the multitude of men, and that all things are possible to those that love God.

For us the interest in the plan consists in this, that it is not an imagination "dreamed in a tavern in London or Paris" (507) as might be supposed, but the deliberate proposal of a practical politician after a lifetime of experience second to that of no man then living.

The old man lived to be 92. Duke Philip of Burgundy paid no heed to his plan, and 2 years after his death² Duke John had his memory reviled as a "hypocrite."³

¹ DELAVILLE LE ROULX, I., 380.

² For his tomb in the Church of the Celestins in Paris, see MILLIN, I., III., 154.

³ ACAD. DES INSCR., XVI., 219, with detailed regulations as to the numbers of the proposed "New Religion,"

APPENDIX CC.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES ON MONUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF DRESS OR FASHION.

FOR HORNED HEAD-DRESS, VOL. III., P. 452, NOTE 8.

Brasses :—

Wife of John Staverton (d. 1430), Eyke (Suffolk).—COTMAN, II., 10, plate 12.

Wife of Sir Brian Stapleton (d. 1438), Ingham (Norfolk).—*Ibid.*, I., 19, plate 22.

Wife and family of Roger Felthorpe (d. 1454), Blickling (Norfolk).—*Ibid.*, I., 19, plate 23.

Wife of Sir Thomas Shernborne (d. 1458), Shernborne (Norfolk).—*Ibid.*, I., 20, plate 24.

Wife of a Norwich citizen (d. *circa* 1460), Norwich, St. Mary Coslany.—*Ibid.*, I., 20, plate 25.

Wife of William Norwich (d. 1463), Norwich, St. George Colegate.—*Ibid.*, I., 21, plate 28.

Wives of Simon Brooke (d. 1488), Ufford (Suffolk).—*Ibid.*, II., 14, plate 19.

Emma, wife of Sir Henry Gray (d. 1492), Ketteringham (Norfolk).—*Ibid.*, I., 25, plate 40.

Effigies :—

Agnes, wife of John Merbury, Weobley (Hereford).—Vol. IV., p. 144, note 3.

Benedicta (?), wife of Sir Richard Vernon (d. 1451), Tong (Salop).—STOTHARD.

Wife of Sir John Milborne, of Tillington, Burghill (Hereford).
Stone effigy, unknown, in Stoke Edith Church (Hereford).

FOR CLOSE-CROPPED HAIR, VOL. IV., P. 118, NOTE I.

Brasses :—

Robert Baxter (d. 1432), Norwich, St. Giles.—COTMAN, I., 18, plate 21.

Unknown (*circ.* 1430), Melton (Suffolk).—*Ibid.*, II., 11, plate 13.

Richard Purdaunce (d. 1436), Norwich, St. Giles.—*Ibid.*, I., 58, appendix, plate 2.

Roger Felthorpe (d. 1454), Blickling (Norfolk).—*Ibid.*, I., 19, plate 23.

Sir Thomas Shernborne (d. 1458), Shernborne (Norfolk).—*Ibid.*, I., 20, plate 24.

A Norwich citizen (d. *circ.* 1460), Norwich, St. Mary Coslany.—*Ibid.*, I., 20, plate 25.

John Todenham (d. *circ.* 1460), Norwich, St. John Maddermarket.—*Ibid.*, I., 20, plate 26.

(Wrongly) called a Chantry priest (*circ.* 1460), Carlton (Suffolk).—*Ibid.*, II., 11, plate 14.

William Norwich (d. 1463), Norwich, St. George Colegate.—*Ibid.*, I., 21, plate 28.

Sir Miles Stapleton (d. 1466), Ingham (Norfolk).—*Ibid.*, I., 22, plate 30.

Henry Unton (d. 1470), Sculthorpe (Norfolk).—*Ibid.*, I., 22, plate 31.

Sir Robert Lovell (?) (*circ.* 1470), Swaffham (Norfolk).—*Ibid.*, I., 58, appendix, plate 4.

Sir John Curson (d. 1471), Belaugh (Norfolk).—*Ibid.*, I., 22, plate 32.

Robert Bomsted (?) (*circ.* 1480), Sotterley (Suffolk).—*Ibid.*, II., 12, plate 16.

Edmund Green (d. 1490), Hunstanton (Norfolk).—*Ibid.*, I., 25, plate 38.

Sir Henry Grey (d. 1492), Ketteringham (Norfolk).—*Ibid.*, I., 25, plate 40.

Unknown (*circ.* 1495), East Tuddenham (Norfolk).—*Ibid.*, I., 26, plate 42.

FOR S.S. COLLAR, VOL. IV., P. 116, NOTE 7.

Brasses :—

Ela, wife of Richard Bowet (d. 1400), Wrentham (Suffolk).—
Vol. II., p. 351, note 1; COTMAN, II., 4, 7, plate 7.

Sir Thomas Swinburn (d. 1412), Little Horkesley (Essex).—
Vol. III., p. 99, note 1.

Sir William Calthorpe (d. 1420), Burnham Thorp (Norfolk).—
COTMAN, I., 16, plate 18.

Effigies :—

Ralph Nevil, Earl of Westmoreland (d. 1440), Staindrop
(Durham).—DOYLE, III., 629.

Sir Richard Vernon (d. 1452), Tong (Salop).—STOTHARD.

Humphrey Salwey (temp. H. VI.), Stanford-on-Teme (Wor-
cester).

Speaker Brooke (temp. Henry VIII.), Claverley (Salop).

FOR COIF, VOL. II., P. 183, NOTE 2.

Master Adam (13th century), window in Eaton Bishop Church
(Hereford).

Sir John Spelman (d. 1545), brass at Narburgh (Norfolk).—
COTMAN, I., 37, plate 69.

APPENDIX DD.

NOTE ON DATE OF BIRTH OF HENRY IV.—VOL. IV., P. 151.

The date of Henry IV.'s birth is nowhere recorded with exactness, as he was born in a private station. FROISSART's calculation (xvi., 143) would seem to place it in 1367. See also WILLIAM OF WORCESTER, 434. DOYLE (II., 316) says "about 1366." TYLER (I., XIII., 4) has April 4 or 6, 1366. L. T. SMITH (DERBY ACCTS., xxxi.) gives May 30, 1366. HOLT (VIII., 43; LANGLEY, 331) thinks April 3, 1367.

The best evidence that I have at hand is conflicting, and the following notes are given subject to correction, as I see no immediate prospect of verifying them by reference again to the original documents, but the year must be either 1366 or 1367.

PELLS ISSUE ROLL, 41 Ed. III., dated June 1, 1367, shows £5 paid by Edward III. to messenger bringing tidings of his birth.¹ This would seem to point to 1367 as the year of birth, but the entry merely proves that the *item of payment* was enrolled on June 1, 1367, and all that we can infer with certainty is that he was born before that date.

Hugh Waterton's Compotus (IV., 166) states that he was 15 years of age in 1382, proving apparently that he was born *before* April 3, 1367, not actually on that day as HOLT, VIII., 43; LANGLEY, 331.

The Maundy entries are contradictory, but I give them as far as I have noted them :—

¹ To Ingelram Falconar coming to the Lord the King with letters from the Duchess of Lancaster, with news of the birth of a son of the same Duchess, in money paid to him of the King's gift. By writ, etc., £5.—DEVON, 191; HOLT, 17.

Year.	No. of Paupers.	∴ born before
1382 (IV., 166)- - -	15	April 3, 1367.
1391 (DERBY ACCTS., 116, 350) ¹	24	Mar. 23, 1367.
1392 (IV., 163) - - -	26	April 11, 1366.
1393 (DERBY ACCTS., 284) ² - - -	26	„ 6, 1367.
1395 (IV., 171) - - -	29	„ 8, 1366.
1397 (IV., 172) - - -	32	„ 19, 1365 (?).
1398 (IV., 176) - - -	32	„ 4, 1366.

Henry's nurse was Margaret Taaf, of Dublin.—HOLT, 19;
N. AND Q., 2nd Ser., 11, 130.

¹ Pro xxiiij. paribus sotularium at Danzig. Mar. 23, 1391.

² Pro xxvi. jupis ad distribuendum pauperibus in die Cenæ, also 26
pairs of shoes.

GLOSSARY OF RARE AND OBSOLETE WORDS.

H = HALLIWELL, J. O., DICTIONARY OF ARCHAIC AND
PROVINCIAL WORDS.

I = INDEX.

- ABECE (A. B. C.), II., 486 *n*; H., 5.
Cf. lernide first his a bi ce as a
litol child.—Wycl. (A.), ii., 239.
- Able (suitable), III., 191.
- Abthen (Apthune, Scottish), II., 60 *n*.
- Account, money of, IV., 44.
- Acolyte (clerk in minor orders), I.,
184, 334. See *Collet*.
- Aght (a measure of eels), IV., 266.
- Agullier (needlemaker), IV., 268.
- Ail (sickness), II., 249.
- Akkerne (acorn), IV., 194.
- Alate (lately), II., 65.
- Albogrey (white-grey), IV., 204.
- Alderman, II., 68, 75.
- Ale (feast), III., 219; H. 40.
- Ale-konner, III., 190; IV., 268.
- Alenge (grievous), IV., 141 *n*; H. 41.
- Alibani (a spice), IV., 111 *n*.
- Allett, Alleit (armour), IV., 231, 233.
- Allopecie (a kind of leprosy), II.,
251 *n*.
- Almain (Germany), II., 72. *Cf.* Al-
mayne, Almany, H. 47.
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- Almonesrye (almonry), II., 363; H.
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- Annates (a year's income from benefice
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- Annuelle (yearly service), II., 118 *n*.
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- Arblast (arcubalista, cross-bow), II.,
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- Arblaster (crossbowman), II., 93, 99;
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 of the Castilians at Aljubarotta.—
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 Blanket (blank charter), III., 454.
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 Blanker, IV., 269.
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 Blure (tall talk), III., 225.
 Board (table), II., 118 *n*; III., 214; H. 196. *Cf.* Bord ad dresser.—Webb, 124, 244.
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- Bowstaff, II., 74; IV., 266; H. 202; Cunningham, i., 388. Cf. The sheter ew, the asp (*i. e.*, aspen) for shaftes pleyne.—Chauc. (S.), i., 342.
- Brabble (squabble), II., 106; III., 212; H. 203.
- Brace (fastening), IV., 161, 164, 173; H. 203.
- Brach (dog), III., 325. Cf. Brachetos nostros.—Webb, xci., from Roy. Let., No. 1328, 7 Ed. I.
- Bract (? sleeve made of linen), IV., 158.
- Bragot (ale and honey), I., 143; II., 85; H. 204.
- Bras (armpiece), IV., 173.
- Brasier (worker in brass), II., 468; IV., 269.
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- Bravery (finery), II., 466.
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- Breike (breach), II., 60 *n.* Cf. Breche.—Wycl. (A.), ii., 3.
- Bretful (brim-full), III., 176.
- Brew a bargain, III., 225.
- Brewbarrett (stirrer of strife), III., 228.
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- Bridbroche (spit for roasting birds), IV., 227.
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- Briester, II., 349.
- Brigante, Brigantayle, Brigandine (coat of mail), IV., 161; H. 211; Jeremias, xvi., 4; li., 3.
- Broche (spit), III., 213 *n.*; IV., 227. Cf. Broach, H. 212.
- Brock (badger), II., 74 *n.*; H. 212.
- Brogger (? brogue-maker), III., 187; IV., 269.
- Broidering, II., 467.
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- Brothly (brittle), III., 221 *n.*
- Brotht, IV., 143 *n.*
- Broiderer, Broyderer (embroiderer), II., 444 *n.*; IV., 163, 269.
- Broyllas (? broiler), IV., 177.
- Bruchel (brittle), III., 221.
- Bruet (brose), III., 213.
- Bucklepiece, IV., 164.
- Bucklerplayer, III., 29.
- Budge, Boget, Bougett (lambskin), II., 183; IV., 212, 219, 225; H., 216. Cf. Capuc' de bug'.—Webb, xxxviii., 184.
- Furred with no minivere
But with a furre rough of here
Of lambeakinnes hevye and blake.
—Chauc. (S.), i., 103.
- Budget (bag), III., 184; bogett, H. 191 = budge, boug', II., 445; IV., 199, 218.
- Bug (bogie), III., 462; H. 216.
- Bugle (buffalo), III., 342.
- Bumbard (gun), II., 67, 265; III., 36, 47, 57, 372; Exch. Rolls, Scot., iv., 677.
- Bunch (a measure of iron), IV., 266.
- Buriller, IV., 269.
- Burnet (brown cloth), III., 121.
- Burrew (piece of armour), IV., 164.
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- Bushment (ambush), II., 93, 326; H. 222.
- Busk (bush), III., 224.
- Busk, Bush (for a helmet), IV., 161, 164.
- Butlerage, II., 127 *n.*
- Butte (tub), III., 221.
- Buttoner (boutonnière), II., 81 *n.*; Holt, 141.
- By-and-by (at once), I., 302; Gower, Conf., 305, 417; Cov. Myst., 277.
- Byker (beaker), III., 390 *n.*
- Bysse, Biss, Byce, Bys, Byse (fur), III., 195 *n.*, 327; IV., 159, 160, 171, 175, 186, 191, 213, 214, 219; H. 179. Cf. Furrura de bisso.—Webb, 113, 243.
- Bytorne (?), IV., 176.
- CADAS, Caddis (worsted stuff), III., 114; IV., 172; H. 226.
- Cadeller (saddler), IV., 269.
- Caif (harlot), II., 159 *n.*
- Calaber (fur), II., 309 *n.*; III., 307 *n.*; IV., 173, 267; H., 227.
- Calculator (astrologer), III., 415 *n.*; IV., 269.
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- Caltrap (spiked ball), I., 196; II., 246; III., 57, 90.
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- Cambial (? made of camlet), IV., 163.
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 Cammaca (cloth), III., 224.
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 Can (know), II., 388; III., 308 *n*.
Cf. And can by herte every langage.—Chauc. (S.), i., 237; He can alle Goddis lawe.—Wycl. (A.), i., 128; How can he this lettris?—*Ibid.*, ii., 91.
 Candlemas (Feb. 2), III., 120, 150, 219; IV., 12, 13.
 Candler, chandeller (candlestick), II., 446; IV., 242. *Cf.* Candler.—Geste, 462.
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 Cannoner (gunner), II., 268; III., 80, 232.
 Canonister (student of canon law), III., 419, 420 *n*.
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 Cantref (hundred in Wales), II., 303 *n*;
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 Capper (maker of caps), IV., 269.
 Capot, II., 250 *n*.
 Capon (cock-chicken), II., 288 *n*,
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 Langley, 52, from Harl. MS.,
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 301, 327; IV., 23; H., 233.
 Carcage (cost of loading), III., 67 *n*.
 Carde (cloth), II., 446-449; III.,
 114 *n*; IV., 199, 200, 221, 222,
 223, 240. *Cf.* Pro carde pro les
 standares.—Derby Accts., 90;
 Unam casulam de rubeo sindone
 limitam de cardâ crocea.—Webb,
 xxxvii.
 Cardiacle, III., 27 *n*.
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 232; Chauc. (S.), i., 255; Wycl.
 (A.), iii., 353, 375; Archæologia,
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 229 *n*; III., 210; Shropsh.
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 —Wycl. (A.), i., 348; iii., 23;
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 The sonnes char.—*Ibid.*, 297;
 Char of gold.—Chauc., Knight,
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 the alderman fish), IV., 180.
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 III., 218.
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Chevauché—Chauc. (*S.*), I., 328;
Prologue, 85; *Manciple*, 16,999.
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 164, 168, 214; H. 28c.
 Churchbread (sacramental), II., 117.
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 (rustic), II., 469.
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 Chymer (cloak), II., 237. *Cf.* *Archæo-*
logia, liv., 83; *chymmer*, H. 250.
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 215 *n*; H. 251.
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Plowman, *Frol.*, 48.
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 II., 251 *n*; H. 251.
 Clap-holts (boards for making casks),
 IV., 266; H. 252.
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Lazarous-clapper, H. 509. *Cf.*
 With cop and clapper lyke
 ane lazarus.—Henryson, *T.*,
Romaunt of Cresseid (ed. Laing,
 p. 86) in *Twelfth Night*, 133; A.
 W. Ward, 91.
 Claré (a strong sweet wine), II., 247 *n*,
Cf. *Clarre*.—Chauc., *Knight*,
 1473; *Mercht.*, 9717; *Clarry*, H.
 252; "Clary wyne and claret."
 —Pollard, *Mir.*, 54.
 Clarioner (trumpeter), III., 209; IV.,
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 of, II., 426 *n*.
 Clavier (an officer of the Corporation
 of Colchester), II., 293 *n*.
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 Clip (clasp), II., 434; *Wycl.* (A.), ii.,
 26, 30, 286; Chauc. (*S.*), i., 107;
 iii., 116.
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 256.
 Clogher (harlot), II., 159 *n*.
 Closh, Claish, Kloysh (a game) II
 144 *n*; III., 206 *n*; H. 257.

- Cloth (maker of cloth), III., 135; IV., 270.
- Cloth-sack (clothes-bag), IV., 173, 174, 175, 224, 240.
- Cloth-web (length of cloth), IV., 176.
- Clout (blow), III., 224.
- Clout (nail). *Cf.* in v. clutt' et hurters ad carectas, vij. d.—Webb, 133.
- Clout (patch, rag), I., 273; III., 195, 197, 430.
- Clove (7 lb. weight of wool), IV., 23 n.
- Clyster (injection), III., 392.
- Coaller (dealer in coal), III., 185 n.
- Coalmeter, III., 192.
- Coat-armour (coat of arms), II., 193; IV., 174. *Cf.* Cote-armure.—Chauc. (S.), ii., 410; Knight's Tale, 1018, 2142; Sir Thopas, 13, 795.
- Cob (chief), III., 306.
- Cockatrice (double-roast), III., 213.
- Cocket (stamp), III., 166, 190.
- Cockle (tares), I., 302; III., 426 n.
- Cockney, II., 466.
- Cocodrill (crocodile), III., 174.
- Cod (pillow), II., 239 n.; H. 262.
- Coffer (box), II., 23; III., 107, 472 n. In 1289 a spice-box (coffrum ad species coquinæ imponendas) cost 2/-.—Webb, 42.
- Cofremaker, IV., 218.
- Cofynmaker (basket maker), IV., 215.
- Cog (ship), II., 36; III., 173; IV., 74 n., 238; H. 262.
- Cog-boat, II., 207.
- Cog-ware (cloth), IV., 49.
- Cognisance (badge), IV., 39.
- Coif (head-dress), II., 16, 81 n., 183, 238 n., 240; Coyfe.—Derby Accts., 280.
- Coin, Coign (Irish tax), II., 128, 150, 157; III., 170.
- Coimbe (Irish), II., 157 n.
- Coissyn (cushion), III., 114 n. See *Quishine*.
- Cokelight, III., 209 n.
- Cokill, Cokkull, Cockille (? mother-of-pearl), IV., 161, 162, 193, 194, 197; H. 261.
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- Cole (cabbage), III., 408.
- Coles (carbones = charcoal), II., 222 n., 223 n., 270 n. *Cf.* Col, H. 263. In xv. qr' carbon' facient' de bosco.—Webb, 29, 33.
- Collet (acolyte), III., 219; IV., 270.
- Collier (charcoal dealer. Carbonarius. —Webb, 140), II., 222, 223 n., 237; III., 192; IV., 45 n., 270.
- Collops (mince), III., 213; H. 264.
- Colonien (citizen of Cologne), II., 73 n.
- Colophony (resin), IV., 111 n.
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- Comfits (sweetmeats), III., 192.
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- Commonalty, III., 186 n., 191 n.
- Commons, II., 55.
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- Compass (circle), IV., 170.
- Compurgation (before jurors), III., 210 n.
- Concept (thought), I., 316.
- Condite (safe-conduct), II., 392; Save-conduyt.—Derby Accts., 20.
- Conduit (water-pipe, reservoir), IV., 23 n.
- Coney, Cony, Conyn (rabbit), II., 125, 188; III., 418; IV., 213.
- Congruly (suitably), III., 202; H. 267.
- Congree, Coninger (rabbit-warren), III., 135; H. 267 s.v. Conig.
- Coningera.—Webb, 56.
- Connoile (cannon), II., 265.
- Consistory (meeting of Cardinals), III., 338, 420 n.
- Constitutions (statutes), II., 159; III., 427.
- Contek (strife), III., 206 n.
- Contekour (cantankerous), III., 206.
- Contrenote (in music), II., 486 n.
- Conventicle (meeting), III., 343.
- Conversus (lay-brother), III., 301 n. *Cf.* Fratres monachos et conversos.—Webb, 235.
- Convicious (abusive), I., 302.
- Cook-for-the-mouth, III., 251; IV., 237.
- Cookscraft, III., 195.
- Cope (cape), III., 225.
- Copegown, II., 443.
- Copman (merchant), II., 103; III., 278 n.; IV., 1, 4, 19, 20.
- Coppehous (cuphouse), IV., 173, 182.

- Coppersmith, IV., 218.
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 Corporus.—G. F. Townsend, 48.
 Corrody (allowance), II., 25, 26 *n.*, 242 *n.* For Upleden (Heref.) see Webb, cxvii. For Leominster see G. F. Townsend, 42.
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 Couche (cough), III., 27 *n.* See *Quheu*.
 Coule (a tax in Monmouth), III., 324 *n.*
 Couillard (siege-engine), III., 57.
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 Coyn (quince), III., 213 *n.*
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 Crache (cradle, crèche), III., 174.
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 Cremell (?), IV., 199.
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 Cresset (firepan), III., 199.
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 Crisp (crape), IV., 266.
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 Crooked (crippled), III., 201.
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 Cross (privileged district belonging to the Church), II., 127; III., 166 *n.*
 Crotchet, Crochett (hook), III., 114; IV., 213, 215, 240.
 Crouch (cross), II., 229.
 Crow (lever), II., 246.
 Crown (tonsure), II., 216. *Cf.* the croune of clerkis crieth povert.—Wycl. (M.), 125; here croune, here tonsure, here abitis.—*Ibid.*, 268; croune and cloth maken no prest.—*Ibid.*, 467; al men that hav crownes.—*Ibid.* (A.), iii., 447; who cometh to oni holiordris withouten extorsion of money for barbour fees, etc.—*Ibid.*, 282, 285.

- Crown (v., to shave the head; *i.e.*, to ordain), II., 200.
- Crozer (crozier-bearer), II., 229; IV., 271.
- Cruet (sacred vessel), II., 333 *n.*
- Crumb-fox (term of contempt), II., 153.
- Crusel (cruse), II., 456 *n.*; III., 220.
- Cruskin, Cruske (earthen pot), IV., 194; H. 284.
- Cudris (?), IV., 197.
- Culan (lock of hair), II., 149 *n.*
- Cullies, Culis (a dish), III., 213; H. 286.
- Cumberworld (encumbrance), II., 23; Chauc. (S.), i., lix.; iii., 311.
- Cumin (a spice), III., 157.
- Cupband, II., 242.
- Curate (parish priest), II., 219; IV., 271.
- Curiosity (delicacy), III., 211 *n.*, 228 *n.*
- Curler (vagabond), III., 429 *n.*
- Currey (piece of armour), IV., 164.
- Curse (excommunicate), III., 463 *n.*, 477.
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- Cushat (dove), III., 152; H. 288.
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- Dag (cut), I., 300; IV., 160, 172. *Cf.* Richd. Redeles, iii., 193.
- Dalmatic (vestment), III., 55.
- Damnation (judgment), III., 225.
- Darest. See *Arest*.
- Dariol (sweetmeat), III., 214; H. 292.
- Darling (favourite), III., 215.
- Dauber (plasterer), II., 467; IV., 217, 271.
- Deadly (mortal), II., 393; III., 234 *n.* We ben alle dedli.—Wycl. (A.), i., 342; Chauc. (S.), ii., 149.
- Deadmole, IV., 220.
- Dearth (dearress), I., 300.
- Dearthing, III., 190.
- Debonair (gentle), II., 406; III., 331 *n.*; IV., 130 *n.* Chauc. (S.), i., 126, 144, 186, 192, 197; Deschamps, viii., 155.
- Deceitously (dishonestly), III., 192.
- Decretist (student of Canon Law), III., 420.
- Deemer, Deemster (judge), II., 293, 294; III., 225.
- Defiance (renunciation of fealty), I., 358; II., 51, 210, 215; IV., 15, 55 *n.*
- Delight, flower of (fleur-de-lis), II., 444. *Cf.* with sadel rede enbrouded with delyt.—Chauc. (S.), iii., 125.
- Deliver (quick), III., 107 *n.*, 332.
- Delivered (released), II., 298.
- Demigown (tabard), III., 209, 325; IV., 157.
- Demilong (half-length), II., 309 *n.*
- Depart (divide), III., 431.
- Depiled (stripped of hair), II., 250.
- Deray (stir, desroy), III., 40 *n.*; IV., 57; H. 278. Carlyle, French Rev., bk. v., chap. i. (ii., 168).
- Derogate (insulted), IV., 95.
- Descant (varied music), II., 486.
- Destrer, Desterere, Dextrer (horse), II., 350 *n.*; III., 247; IV., 143 *n.*, 163, 223.
- Detentor (farmer of Church lands), III., 144 *n.*
- Determine (graduate), III., 138, 468 *n.*
- Determiner, III., 417, 418.
- Detrussage (unpacking), IV., 220.
- Devoir (duty), III., 108.
- Dewtee (medicine for horses), IV., 167. *Cf.* dewtry, H. 301.
- Die-graver (cutter of dies), IV., 48, 271.
- Dight (decked), III., 211 *n.*
- Di' haunch (? half-haunch), IV., 233.
- Din (noise), III., 224.
- Ding (wound), III., 225, 226.
- Dip-charger (sauce-boat), IV., 210.
- Dirge, Dirige (funeral hymn), II., 289; III., 236 *n.*, 237; H. 304.
- Discarage (cost of unloading), III., 67 *n.*
- Disease (trouble), II., 48, 424; III., 118, 201 *n.*, 268 *n.*
- Disgrade (degrade), I., 302.
- Disher (dish-maker), IV., 271; H. 305.
- Disparagement (unequal marriage), II., 280. *Cf.* knyghthode was disparaged.—Wycl. (A.), ii., 109.
- Dispensour. See *Spencer*.
- Displeasance, II., 415.
- Disselerage (charge for removing from cellar), IV., 184.
- Distemperance, I., 300.

- Distroubling (disturbance), III., 40.
 Divine (student in divinity), III., 419, 434.
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 Donzel (damsel), II., 50 *n.*; (squire, page), II., 144 *n.*, 447; IV., 23 *n.* Cf. danselon.—Geste, 335.
 Doorward (usher), III., 27; IV., 271.
 Dorture (dormitory), II., 456, 457. Cf. dortour, H. 312.
 Dossier, Doser, Doseur, Dorser (back hangings), II., 446; III., 211 *n.*, 212 *n.*; IV., 197, 200, 240. Cf. docere, H. 312; Derby Accts., 25; Prutz, 25.
 Doucet (sweetmeat), III., 214; H. 313.
 Doublet, IV., 168, 171, 207; H. 312.
 Douett, IV., 200.
 Draft-lef (draw-leaf of a bridge), II., 63; IV., 60, 61.
 Draffy (worthless), I., 272. For draff, drachia, *i.e.*, brewer's grains, see Webb, 32. Cf. draf, H. 315.
 Drage (sweet-stuff), III., 218. Cf. dragy, dragee, H. 315. In 1289 6 lbs. drageti cost 6/8.—Webb, 115.
 Dragg (?), IV., 197, 219, 240.
 Draglatch (housebreaker), III., 407.
 Dragon (helm), II., 104.
 Dragon's blood, Sancdragon, Sang-dragon (as medicine), IV., 219, 222.
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 Draper (maker of cloth), II., 413; III., 135, 185 *n.*, 204 *n.*, 418; IV., 271.
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 Dub (dress up), III., 192. Cf. redub, III., 197 *n.*
 Dubber (doer up of old clothes), III., 187, 197 *n.*; IV., 271.
 Dudgeon (box-wood), IV., 266; H. 323.
 Dun (Irish fort), III., 153.
 Dunes (sand hills), I., 460; II., 97.
 Dyme (tithe), III., 240 *n.*, 312 *n.*, 430 *n.*
 Dyster (dyer), II., 413; IV., 271.
 EAMUS (? bed furniture), IV., 173.
 Earing (ploughing), II., 223; H. 328. Cf. ering.—Gower, Conf., 231; lond wel eerid.—Wycl. (A.), ii., 35; do ere his feldes.—Chauc. (S.), ii., 59; ered lond.—*Ibid.*, iv., 15.
 Easement, house of (latrine), II., 256 *n.*; H. 328.
 Easterling (merchant from the East of Europe), IV., 213, 225.
 Edder (adder), III., 223.
 Eerie (haunted), III., 242.
 Eftsoons (immediately), IV., 95.
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 Elephancie (a kind of leprosy), II., 251 *n.*
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 Enchesoun (occasion), II., 24 *n.*
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 Enginer (gunner), II., 268; III., 83, 107 *n.*, 112; IV., 271.
 Englishry, II., 6, 7 *n.*; IV., 59.
 Engrained, Engreynd (powdered), IV., 191; H. 335.
 Engrosser (wholesale dealer), III., 254; IV., 271.
 Ensenge (incense), III., 220 *n.*
 Entaillement (? groove or mould), II., 267 *n.*
 Enterdite (interdict), III., 298, 477 *n.*
 Entremet, Entremees, Entremesse, III., 213; IV., 227; H. 337.
 Entry (inn), III., 428.
 Equipotent (equal), II., 467 *n.*
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 Eschew (avoid), III., 205.

- Espade (spade), IV., 232.
 Especer (spicer), IV., 271.
 Esponsorer (spurrier), IV., 271.
 Esquillerie (scullery), IV., 208, 209.
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 Estrenne, Estreine (New Year's gift), II., 478; III., 259 n.
 Estricheboard (deal plank), II., 72 n.
 Estrichevolle, II., 462 n.
 Exhibition (allowance), III., 405.
 Eyelet (hole), IV., 90.
- FAKE (trick), III., 432.
 Falconer (keeper of hawks), III., 154.
 Fallaing (cloak), II., 149 n.
 Falser (utterer of false coin), IV., 46 n.
 Fane (banner). See *Vane*.
 Fanner (fan-maker), IV., 271.
 Fanon (maniple), IV., 214, 242; H. 347. See brass of Richard Thaseburgh, priest (1389) at Heylesdon, in Cotman, i., p. xx., 47, plate 94.
 Fardel (bundle), III., 369.
 Faurescart, II., 475; Chauc. (S.), ii., 394, 500.
 Farmer (contractor for revenue), II., 476; III., 144.
Cf. Him oghte nat be tiraunt ne cruel
 As is a fermour to doon the harm he can.
 —Chauc. (S.), iii., 93.
 Farrier, Ferrour, Ferrer (blacksmith), III., 198; IV., 38; H. 116, 354.
 Ferrator. — Shropsh. Archæol. Soc., 2nd ser., viii., 42; Webb, 27, 29.
 Farsed (stuffed), I., 273 n.
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 Faucebras (armour), IV., 157.
 Fauconette (a gun), III., 57.
 Fauscrop, Fauscrot, Fauscero, Fauscropper, Fauscropour, Ffaucropper, Ofanscrop, Uffanscropour (? false crupper), IV., 143 n, 159, 169, 207, 212, 216.
 Fausmanche (false sleeve), IV., 163.
 Fausreyne (? false rein), IV., 157, 169.
 Faustirop, Fauxstirop, Fawsterop (? false stirrup), IV., 161, 164, 167, 212, 216, 219, 223.
 Faustring, Fausestring (? false string), IV., 231, 232.
- Fautekyn (half-wit), II., 290 n.
 Fauten (to want), II. 290 n.
 Feblesse (weakness), II., 270.
 Fech (? a catch), IV., 215.
 Fective (defective), III., 190.
 Fegginess (feebleness) III., 223.
 Feirie (strong on the feet), II., 371.
 Felmonger (dealer in skins), IV., 271.
 Fell (skin), II., 74 n; III., 226.
 Fellipar (skinner), IV., 271.
 Fellware (skins), II., 448 n.
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 Fercule (dish), I., 107; II., 239 n.
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 Fertour (reliquary), II. 239. *Cf.* Ferretre, feretory, H. 353, 354.
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 Feyner, Fener (dealer in hay), IV., 272.
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 Find (fit out), III., 208.
 Finikin (trifling), III., 228.
 Firing-irons (for guns), II., 265.
 Firmaress (head of infirmary), II., 454, 456. *Cf.* Fermerer. — Chauc. Sompnour, 7440.
 Fit (piece of music), III., 215; H. 358.
 Fitchew, Fitchet (polecat), IV., 266; H. 358.
 Fithelle (fiddle), III., 215.
 Fitheler (fiddler), IV., 272.
 Flaith (Irish chief), II., 154.
 Flanch (? flange), IV., 231.
 Flap (blow), III., 225.
 Flateropling (a fish), IV., 249.
 Flathe (measure of tallow), IV., 230, 233.
 Flawn (pancake), III., 214; H. 360.
 Fleak, Fleke (screw), II., 59; IV., 253.
 Fleme (banish), III., 308 n; IV., 150.
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- Fleshboards (shambles), II., 251.
 Flesh-hewer (butcher), III., 185 *n*, 213 *n*; IV., 252, 272.
 Fletcher (arrowsmith), III., 185 *n*; IV., 209, 230, 272.
 Flux (dysentery), II., 456 *n*; III., 275; IV., 78.
 Flykke (fitch), IV., 249.
 Focary (firelighter), II., 455.
 Foison (plenty), III., 4; IV., 260.
 Fond (strive), II., 389. *Cf.* to strengthen hire shal all his frendes fond.—Chauc., Man of Law, 4767.
 Fontstone (font), II., 281; H. 368; Besant, 66.
 Foodrent, II., 150, 153, 157.
 Foothot (full speed), III., 90.
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 Footsheet, Footshie, III., 326; IV., 163, 167; H. 369.
 For-bled, (bleedery), III., 226.
 Forcer (box), IV., 195; Prompt. Parv., 170; N. & Q., 7th ser., vii., 450; Oxford City Doc., 149, 177; ma noire forser.—Surrey Archæol. Coll., ii., 187; un petit forcel de blanc.—Roy, Wills, 139; in quodam parvo forcerio de corio.—Webb. cxxx., from Reg. Cantilupe, f. 52 a. See *Forsshyr*.
 Forcermaker, IV., 272; Riley, Mem., 568.
 Foreby, Forby (past), II., 404; H. 370; Chauc. (S.), ii., 209; iii., 169.
 Forest (preserve for game), II., 222 *n*.
 Forger (worker), III., 224 *n*.
 Formage (cheese), IV., 249.
 Forsshyr, Forcer (knife), I., 429. *Cf.* Foocryd as mennys beardys (or pollyd, *capitonsus*), foocryd as wulle (*tonsus*), foocryn or clyppyn (*tondes'*), foorcynge (*tonsura*).—Prompt. Parv., i., 170. *Cf.* forces (shears).—Lib. Alb. i., 724; ne face forcer, clakker, ne barder nulle maner des leins.—Stat. 8 H. VI., 20. For forcyng wolle see Nott. Rec., i., 245; "dagging of sheres forche"—Chauc., Parson, 533; "cheres de furment".—Kal. and Inv., ii., 85. On Jan. 17, 1413, the house of William Booker, in the parish of St. Laurence Jewry in the Cheap in London, was broken into by Richard Yemesche who stole *inter alia* a forcer, cultell' et dagger in a bundle belonging to Thomas Bryce of Leighton Buzzard.—Pat. 14 H. IV., 6.
 For-tired (tired), II., 404.
 Forthbringing (funeral), III., 208.
 Fosterage, II., 143, 145.
 Fostering, II., 150.
 Fother (9 cwt.), III., 240; H. 375.
 Foumart, Foulmart, Folmert (polecat), II., 125; H., 376.
 Founder, IV., 272.
 Fourbour (furbisher), IV., 272; H. 376.
 Fowler (keeper of birds), II., 125; IV., 272.
 Foyne, Foin (weasel), II., 448 *n*; IV., 168, 173, 175, 214.
 Frail (basket), IV., 266.
 Franchise (privileged district), II., 47, 257 *n*; IV., 25 *n*. See *Liberty*.
 Franchisemen (freemen in towns), III., 185.
 Frank, Franconate (of Bruges), II., 80. *Cf.* de Franco sive Vryen.—Brando, 108, 152; Trahisons, 87, 102; Geste, 424, 480.
 Franks (Western Europeans), I., 319.
 Franklin, Frankelein (freeman), II., 200 *n*, 280 *n*; H. 378.
 Fraternity (gild), III., 136, 200; letters of, II., 346 *n*, 453. *Cf.* Thei graunten letters of bretherhed under hor comyne seele that hor brether schal have part of alle hor gode dedes both in lif and in deth.—Wycl. (A.), i., 67, 380; iii., 299, 337, 351, 377, 394, 420, 429; A. S. Green, ii., 49. Thes lettris mai do good for to covere mustard pottis.—Wycl. (A.), i., 381.
 Fraying-barrel, II., 269 *n*; IV., 231, 233.
 Freitage, III., 67 *n*.
 Freitour (refectory), II., 455, 456, 457; III., 116, 127 *n*.
 Frek (frisky), II., 87 *n*.
 Frenchbaker, IV., 272.
 Fresed (? frizzed), IV., 266.
 Fretlet (knob), III., 103.
 Frettage (freightage), III., 67 *n*; IV., 204.

- Frieze, Fres, Fris (frizzy woollen stuff),
 II., 74, 149, 444; IV., 49, 163,
 165, 199, 239; H. 381.
- Fripperer (oldclothesman), III., 196 *n*;
 IV., 272.
- Frippy (cast-off clothes), III., 197.
- Fritters, II., 288 *n*; H. 382.
- Frontier, Frontal (for altar), IV., 174.
- Frueldm (?), IV., 266.
- Fruiter (fruiterer), III., 327; IV., 272.
- Fruits (yield of churches), III., 240.
- Full-butt (full-tilt), III., 108.
- Full-top (brimful), III., 192.
- Fund (found), II., 272 *n*.
- Furbour, II., 427.
- Fusell (spindle), IV., 198.
- Furmenty, Frumenty, II., 288 *n*;
 III., 206; H. 383. *Cf.* frumitu-
 tum.—Webb, 42.
- Fust (stick), II., 342. *Cf.* bastons de
 fust.—Pastoralet, 667.
- Fuster (part of bedstead), IV., 240.
- Fuster, Fusterer (joiner), II., 342 *n*;
 III., 193, 197; IV., 272; H. 380.
- Fustian, IV., 157.
- Fustigate (beat), II., 318. *Cf.* fuster
 (battre).—Deschamps, viii., 190,
 201.
- GAB (lie), III., 432, 475 *n*; (talk)
 IV., 80.
- Gablette (small gable), IV., 114 *n*;
 H. 387.
- Gad (goad, pin), II., 13, 268. *Cf.*
 "gaddes of stele," "lange gaddes
 of iryne".—H., 388.
- Gadling (gadding), IV., 8.
- Gaillard (gay), I., 273 *n*.
- Galantine, Galentine (soaked bread),
 II., 288 *n*; H. 389.
- Galbarey (Irish game), II., 160.
- Galiot, III., 80.
- Gallowglass, II., 157.
- Galog, Galache, Galage, Galash
 (boot), IV., 112, 171; H. 389;
 Prompt. Parv.
- Galoner (vessel containing a gallon),
 III., 103 *n*.
- Galy-halfpenny, IV., 46.
- Gamme (gamut), II., 486.
- Gane (yawn), II., 23 *n*.
- Gaping (longing), II., 23.
- Garb (sheaf), IV., 230.
- Garbeller (tester of grocer's wares),
 III., 135 *n*; IV., 272; H. 391.
- Garble (sift), II., 269; III., 135.
- Garnape (lid), II., 456.
- Garnish (set of plates), III., 212; H.
 392.
- Garron (nag), II., 149, 165.
- Garth (yard), III., 435.
- Gasconade (brag), II., 324.
- Gateward (porter), III., 27 *n*.
- Gau (district), I., 204; IV., 267.
- Gaudy, Gaudee (bead), II., 357; IV.,
 174; H. 394.
- Gauger, IV., 272.
- Gaunter (glover), IV., 272.
- Gaure, Gorre, III., 88 *n*.
- Gear (matter), III., 204; (harness),
 III., 226.
- Gelyn, II., 476 *n*.
- Gentle (gentleman), II., 490. *Cf.*
 gentil.—Chauc. (S.), i., 367.
- Gerfalcon, II., 125 *n*. Edward I.
 paid 16d. pro uno quarterio
 carbonis ad arandum pro iiiij.
 dies pro uno girfalcone infirmo.—
 Webb, 1; Add. MS., 4574, fol.
 239.
- Gerine (? gearing), IV., 222.
- Gestour (tale-teller), III., 214 *n*; IV.,
 272; H. 398.
- Get (fashion), I., 162; III., 453.
- Geton, Getoun, Giton, Guyton
 (pennon), IV., 76, 160, 221, 226,
 227; H. 398.
- Gildein, Gildan (member of a gild),
 III., 184, 200.
- Gildhall, II., 72, 73, 74; III., 184,
 185 *n*.
- Gin (trap), III., 229.
- Gipellette, Giplett (armour), IV., 231,
 233.
- Girdler (girdle-maker), III., 199; IV.,
 272.
- Girthmaker, IV., 272.
- Gitener (guitar-player), III., 215;
 IV., 272.
- Gitern (guitar), I., 273 *n*; III., 215,
 332. For Abbot of Reading's
 citharista see Webb, cxxiii., 147.
- Gladmere, I., 197.
- Glase (fill with glass), II., 386 *n*; IV.,
 272. *Cf.* with glas were al the
 windowes wel y-glased.—Chauc.
 (S.), i., 288.
- Glassure (? armour), IV., 231, 233.
- Glaver (chatter), III., 422.
- Glede (glowing coal), III., 194 *n*.

- Gleeman (minstrel), III., 215 *n*; IV., 272; H., 493.
- Glib (lock of hair), II., 149; H., 404.
- Gloser (flatterer), II., 352. *Cf.* glosinge wordes.—Chauc. (S.), ii., 30.
- Gloss (commentary), II., 150; III., 420.
- Glutton-mass, III., 210 *n*.
- Gobbet (bit), I., 303; III., 213.
- Godsboard (altar), II., 419.
- Godshouse (hospital), II., 256 *n*; IV., 23 *n*.
- Gogelen (squint), II., 298 *n*.
- Goldbeater, IV., 272.
- Golden prelate, II., 200.
- Golouchemaker, IV., 272.
- Gong (privy), II., 256 *n*, 407. *Cf.* gonge-pitte.—H., 409. For the gong-stool, gung-stole, or cucke-stool at Leominster see G. F. Townsend, 316.
- Good Friday, II., 160 *n*; Wycl. (M.), 302; (A.), ii., 52. Not a modern epithet as supposed by Webb, clxvi.
- Gorme. See *Grome*.
- Gospeller (in a monastery), II., 455; H., 411.
- Gossip, Gossoppe (to stand sponsor for), II., 143 *n*, 281; (god-daughter), III., 81; (neighbour), III., 224. Pollard, Miracles 15.
- Gossipred, II., 150.
- Goudale (good ale), II., 98 *n*. *Cf.* godalier, I., 100 *n*.
- Gowk, Gawk (cuckoo), II., 180 *n*; H., 395, 412.
- Grace (favour), I., 485; III., 369, 404.
- Graceless (without favour), I., 367 *n*.
- Graceman, III., 212.
- Graile, Gradual (service-book), III., 233 *n*. *Cf.* graieles and othere bokis of song.—Wycl. (A.), iii., 202; H., 413.
- Graith (prepare), III., 226.
- Grate (in helmet), IV., 161.
- Grave (cut), *e.g.*, turf-graving, II., 189.
- Gray, Gris (badger), II., 444; III., 469; IV., 157, 160, 162, 166, 168, 173, 197, 199, 212, 219, 239; H., 415. *Cf.* le blanc gris fut muez en vair.—Deschamps, viii., 265. See *Grisever*.
- Gredyryn (gridiron), IV., 175.
- Green-flower, III., 103.
- Grey-russet (cloth), II., 444.
- Greywark (badger's fur), IV., 266.
- Griddle, Gredill (baking-plate), II., 151. *Cf.* girdle, gredel, H., 401, 415.
- Gripesey, Grepesey, Gripesegg (cup), IV., 195; H., 419.
- Gripsklo (vulture's claw, drinking-horn), II., 450 *n*.
- Grisel, Grisell (grey), II., 246 *n*, 438; IV., 143 *n*, 204, 238. *Cf.* grissel, H., 419.
- Griset (grey cloth), III., 121.
- Grisever (badger's fur), II., 475; III., 196.
- Griskin (little pig), II., 288 *n*; III., 213. *Cf.* gris, H., 419.
- Grisly, Grisely (frightful, *grässlich*, Ger.), I., 386 *n*; II., 267; III., 227; H., 419.
- Grissett (armour), IV., 231.
- Groat (great penny = 4d. or 7d.), II., 135, 166, 211 *n*; III., 208; IV., 44, 202, 306; Scottish groat, II., 374 *n*.
- Grocer, Grosser (wholesale dealer), II., 110; III., 135, 200; IV., 214, 273.
- Grome, Grom, Gorme (fork), IV., 197, 222; H., 420.
- Grondlyn, IV., 220.
- Grope (probe), I., 271.
- Gross-beasts (fat cattle), II., 476.
- Gross-up (store), II., 110.
- Grubb (in saddle), IV., 169.
- Grucch (grudge), I., 298.
- Gruesome (dismal), III., 242.
- Guck (a game of hazard), III., 206 *n*.
- Guerdon (reward), II., 24 *n*.
- Guian (gold coin of Guienne), III., 69 *n*.
- Guidage (fee for guiding), IV., 250.
- Guldeken (Dean of Guild), III., 210 *n*.
- Gulden, IV., 44 *n*.
- Gumsis (?), II., 474 *n*.
- Gun-master (gunner), II., 269; IV., 273.
- Gun-stone (stone-shot), II., 267 *n*; III., 372; IV., 33, 231, 232, 234, 257; H., 424.
- Gusset (piece of mail), IV., 164; H., 425.
- Guyton. See *Geton*.

- Gymew (a measure), II., 111. *Cf.* *my.*—*Lib. Cust.*, i. 62; an hundred muwis of whete greyn.—*Chauc. (S.)*, i., 226, 440.
- HABERDASHER (stationer), III., 422; IV., 215, 218, 273.
- Habergeon, Haubgeon, II., 45 n, 268, 347; IV., 230, 231, 232; H., 426. Haberon.—*Derby Accts.*, 171; *Chauc. Prol.*, 76; *Knight's Tale*, 121; *Sir Thopas*, 13790; *haberioun.*—*Wycl. (A.)*, ii., 367; *habergon.*—*Deschamps*, viii., 143; *hauber.*—*Chauc. (S.)*, i., 382.
- Hachez (hatches), IV., 240.
- Hackney (horse), I., 482; III., 124, 463; IV., 82, 100 n, 143 n, 167, 182, 206.
- Hackneyman, III., 173; IV., 273.
- Hafter (maker of hafts), IV., 273.
- Hairster, Hayrester (dealer in horse-hair), III., 187; IV., 273.
- Hake (fish), I., 374. In 1289 1 hak' cost 8d.—*Webb*, 4.
- Halk (corner), III., 269.
- Halling, Hall (tapestry), III., 211; H., 430.
- Hall-mote (assembly), III., 189.
- Hallow (consecrate), II., 208; III., 264 n; *Wycl. (M.)*, 214, 233, 293; *Wycl. (A.)*, iii., 300, 331, 381, 488.
- Hals (to tie round the throat), III., 440.
- Haly-bred, II., 118 n. See *Church-bread*.
- Hampmaker (maker of hanaps), IV., 273.
- Hanap (cup), II., 241, 399 n, 446; IV., 63, 89, 129 n, 194, 195. *Cf.* *hanapar de coquina* (kitchen basket).—*Webb*, 4; H., 431.
- Hance (enhance), III., 193.
- Handsel (gift), II., 478; IV., 129.
- Hans-house, II., 72; III., 184.
- Hant, Haunt (frequent), II., 487; III., 124 n; H., 438.
- Hap (wrap), II., 256 n; H., 433.
- Happen, Hapny (halfpenny), II., 256 n; H., 433.
- Harbourage, Herbegage (lodging), II., 128, 374; III., 304 n, 363; IV., 183.
- Hardi. See *Ardit*.
- Harehound, III., 325 n; *Webb*, cxi., 134.
- Harlot (hired servant), I., 273, 425.
- Harthound, Herthound (decrhound), II., 47; III., 245; *Webb*, lv.
- Hasardry (games of chance), II., 464; *Deschamps*, viii., 180.
- Hate, Hatte (to be called, *Ger. heissen*), II., 222 n, 377; H., 437. What the childe shulde hatte.—*Wycl. (A.)*, i., 365.
- Haterel (circle), III., 440.
- Hatmaker, IV., 273.
- Hauberger (innkeeper), IV., 273.
- Hauselyn (jacket), IV., 172, 173, 174, 175.
- Hauspee, Hausseepe (part of a siege-engine), III., 41, 106 n; IV., 188, 230, 231, 232.
- Hayter (dog), III., 245; IV., 214.
- Hazarder (dicer), III., 206, 397.
- Headstall (of a bridle), IV., 161, 169, 226.
- Healm, IV., 216.
- Hearse, Herse (frame for candles), II., 289; IV., 113, 114, 222; H., 446.
- Heaumer (helmet maker), IV., 273.
- Hele (health), III., 245.
- Hellier (tiler), III., 193; IV., 273; H., 443.
- Helmthong (helmet-strap), IV., 161.
- Hely, Hele (cover), III., 294 n; H., 443. See *Overhele*.
- Hem (?), IV., 266.
- Henchman, Henksman, Henxtman (attendant), III., 251; IV., 169, 172, 235.
- Henower (Hainaulter), III., 247, 258, 383; IV., 62 n.
- Hente (fetched), III., 225, 308 n.
- Herbегage. See *Harbourage*.
- Herber (inn, *auberge*, Fr.), II., 308; III., 304 n; IV., 223, 295 n.
- Herberger (innkeeper), III., 118 n; IV., 273. See *Hauberger*.
- Herbinage, II., 139.
- Herd, Herdman (shepherd), III., 7, 224, 240 n.
- Heriot (due at death), II., 118. *Cf.* *Herieta.*—*Webb*, 222, from *Bishop Swinfield's Reg.*, f. 145 b.
- Hermaphrodite (of mixed sex), II., 459.
- Hermony (Armenia), III., 224.

- Hern (corner), III., 269.
 Herowe (shout), III., 226.
 Herring-tun, II., 69; IV., 33.
 Herying (praising), III., 93 n.
 Heurer, Hurer, IV., 273.
 Hew (cut), III., 213.
 Hilling (clothing, covering), III., 430.
 Hirdler, IV., 273.
 Ho! (hold!), III., 109.
 Hoard (hoarding), II., 258.
 Hob (*i.e.*, Robert or Robin), II., 143.
Cf. Sir jacke and hobbe.—Wycl. (M.), 192; Hob Carter.—Hume, iii., 360.
 Hobbler (light armed horseman), II., 219 n; III., 170; IV., 273.
 Hobby (hawk), II., 125; H. 452.
 Hogaster, Hogster (two-year-old sheep), II., 473 n, 478.
 Hogherd, II., 466; III., 227 n.
 Holughtyl (? hollowtile), IV., 174.
 Holy-water-clerk (exorcist), I., 185; III., 219, 413 n; IV., 273.
 Homer (hammer), IV., 232; H. 457.
 Hooder, IV., 273.
 Hopeland, Hopoland (cloak), II., 421; H. 458.
 Hopper (sieve), II., 269.
 Horner (dealer in horn), III., 187; IV., 273.
 Horse-bier, IV., 113.
 Horseboy, II., 128.
 Horse-leech (horse-doctor), III., 154; IV., 273.
 Horse-meat, II., 128. *Cf.* pro pane equino.—Derby Accts., 6, 7, 9, 11, 16, 28, 99, 163; Prutz, liii.
 Hostiller, Hosteler, Hostler (inn-keeper), I., 273 n, 300; II., 374; IV., 273.
 Hosting (raid), II., 160, 164; III., 168.
 Hounds-bread (dogs-meat), II., 128 n.
 Houselling, Housel (Mass), II., 419; IV., 104; H. 463. In 1547 there were 1700 "houselynge people" in the parish of Leominster.—G. F. Townsend, 59, 61.
 Houseright (due), III., 205.
 Housing, Houce, House (horse-trappings), III., 54 n, 56, 328; IV., 160, 167, 169, 173; for balistas, IV., 231. *Cf.* In xij ulnis de bassetto (baize) pro hucia ad equum xj s. vi d.—Webb, 113.
 Houseselle (saddle), IV., 175; H. 463.
 Howk (dig), III., 47.
 Hoxtide, Hocktide (feast 15 days after Easter), III., 219; H. 453. *Cf.* Hoketisday.—Shropsh. Archæol. Soc., 2nd ser., viii., 115 (1896).
 Hoy-trolly-lolly (merrymaking), III., 214.
 Hulk (ship), III., 256.
 Humanist (student of the Renaissance), III., 99, 395, 416.
 Hurdys. *See* Hoard.
 Hurlebatt, Hurlet (club), II., 144 n.
 Hurling (strife), IV., 93.
 Hurly (a game), II., 144.
 Hurter (clipper of coin), IV., 46.
 Hurtle (clash), III., 47.
 Huse, Hus (house), II., 264; H. 470.
 Husting (court in London), III., 195.
 Hutch, Huce, Wheche (box), III., 199, 411; IV., 1 n, 112.
 IDLEMAN, I., 222; II., 149 n; III., 170; H., 472.
 Idiot (ignorant), II., 490 n; (private person), III., 431.
 Idol (dummy), II., 204 n.
 Idromel, Hydromel (diluted honey), II., 85.
 Imaginative (clever), I., 325 n; IV., 140 n.
 Imager, Imager, IV., 273.
 Imp (child), III., 299; (equal), IV., 101 n.
 Inception, III., 418.
 Inceptor (graduate), III., 408; IV., 214.
 Incurse (inroad), II., 257.
 Indifferent (small), II., 256.
 Infirmities (breeches), II., 227.
 Ingrain, II., 484 n; IV., 7 n.
 Inn (to be quartered at), III., 180.
 Inwit (understanding), II., 290 n.
 Iremonger (ironmonger), IV., 273.
 Iter (circuit), II., 135 n.
 JACK, Jakke, Jak (jacket of leather or buckram stuffed with wool), II., 7, 218, 347; III., 188; IV., 157, 160, 173, 188, 197, 215, 230, 231; Cotman, i., xvi.
 Jack-raker (street-sweeper), III., 437, 438; IV., 273.
 Jagge (cut), II., 444 n.

- Jangle (chatter), III., 8. See *Clap-and-jangle*.
- Jangler, Jangleress, I., 195.
- Jannock (cake), III., 224.
- Jape (joke, folly), II., 453 *n*, 456, 486 *n*; III., 472 *n*.
- Japing-stick, III., 229.
- Jargon (chatter), II., 377; Chauc. (S.), i., 123. Ful of jergon as a flecked pie.—Chauc., Merchant, 972.
- Jerusalem-farer (pilgrim), III., 176.
- Jnistheux (?), IV., 231.
- Jonette, IV., 136 *n*.
- Jongleur (bard, *joculator*), III., 209 *n*; IV., 273.
- Jouette, IV., 221.
- Jout (a dish), III., 213; H. 486.
- Judaize (turn heretic), III., 9.
- Judas (chandelier), III., 230.
- Jurat (councillor), III., 74, 185.
- Justyng-bridell (jousting-bridle), IV., 161.
- Juventute (youth), IV., 93.
- KALENDER (cloth-presser), II., 489 *n*; IV., 274.
- Kalmyr (?), IV., 266.
- Kayle-pins (skittles, Fr. *quille*), II., 329; III., 206 *n*. Cf. *cailes*.—H. 227; keyles.—Calais Chron., xxvii.; Cunningham, i., 363.
- Keel (cool), II., 23 *n*.
- Kell (a measure of coal), III., 191 *n*.
- Kelle (? fine linen), IV., 266.
- Kember (comber), III., 197; IV., 274.
- Kerchief, Kervercher, Kercheve, Couvrechief (head-covering), II., 267, 444 *n*, 471 *n*; III., 224; IV., 122, 166, 199, 200, 239.
- Kern (foot soldier), II., 128, 135, 136, 142, 149, 154, 157; III., 170.
- Kersey (cloth), IV., 49.
- Kettlehat, Ketelhatt, Ketelhutt (cap), III., 104 *n*; IV., 160, 169, 173, 231.
- Keys (claves legis.—Isle of Man), II., 293, 294.
- Keyshat (forester), I., 145. Cf. *keys sive forestarius*.—Monast., vi., 138.
- Kid (faggot), III., 191.
- Kiddle (obstruction in a river), II., 479.
- Kidnap, II., 187.
- Kiell (cell), II., 293.
- Kind (nature), II., 415 *n*; III., 415 *n*; IV., 107 *n*.
- Kindly skill (natural science), III., 415 *n*.
- Kind-wit (native wit), III., 436 *n*.
- Kirtle (gown), III., 224, 325, 326; IV., 158, 216.
- Kisser (? maker of cuisses), IV., 274.
- Kist (chest), II., 445 *n*. Derby Accts., 23, 64.
- Kithe (show), III., 332 *n*; IV., 106 *n*; H. 496.
- Kloysh. See *Closh*.
- Knacking (in singing), II., 486 *n*; III., 432. Cf. *knakkes small*.—Chauc. (S.), i., 312.
- Knee-bent (with feet tied back), IV., 11.
- Knevet (? knife), IV., 175.
- Knifesmith, IV., 274.
- Knitch (faggot), IV., 72.
- Knob, Knop (lump), II., 248 *n*; IV., 193; H. 498.
- Knockus (knuckles), II., 272 *n*.
- Knoll (bell), III., 220.
- Knyettes (nutcrackers), II., 456.
- Kok. See *Cog*.
- Kokebell, IV., 196.
- Kuelte (quilt), III., 114 *n*.
- Kun (know), II., 490.
- Kwmwrth, Kymortha (collection), I., 213; III., 270 *n*.
- Kyx, Kex (rushlight), III., 194 *n*; H. 493.
- LACEBRAIDER, IV., 274.
- Lagahalimot (law-hallmote), III., 189.
- Lag-end (finish), IV., 100.
- Laguior' (?), IV., 200.
- Laken (linen-fabrics), II., 150 *n*; H. 502.
- Lammas-tide (Aug. 1st), I., 339; II., 396, 397; III., 198, 280. Cf. at lammasse of Peter Apostull (*i.e.*, June 29).—Archæologia, liv., 163.
- Lampron, Laumpron, Laumper (lamprey), II., 287 *n*; IV., 180; H. 503.
- Landiron (?), IV., 266. Cf. *landern*, H. 503.
- Lap (wrap), II., 272 *n*; IV., 112; H. 505.
- Lapkin (for a helmet), IV., 233.

- Larder, Lardery (store of salted meat), II., 151 *n*; III., 61 *n*, 250; H. 505.
- Last (of herrings = 10,000), II., 69 *n*; IV., 209; Cunningham, I., 296; (or 12 barrels) H. 506; of iron, IV., 266.
- Last Assize (Doomsday), III., 220.
- Laton, Latten (bronze), II., 266; IV., 84 *n*, 115 *n*, 200; H. 507; Derby Accts., 154; for harness, IV., 143 *n*; composition of, II., 266 *n*; for stirrups, IV., 226; for astro-labe, IV., 176; for chains, IV., 215; for saddles, IV., 169; for spurs, IV., 157, 166, 174; for monuments, *cf.*—
- They made a figure in remembrance of him.
- It was of laton over-gilt.
—Gower, Conf., 413.
- A tumb of laton noble and riche
With an ymage upon her liche
Liggend above therupon
They made and set it up anon.
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- Potyer (potter), IV., 276.
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- Poundage (rate per £), II., 73, 477; Cunningham, i., 257.
- Pounson (punch), I., 300. *Cf.*
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- Priers (? pliers), IV., 196; H. 613.
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- Proctor (representative, prolocutor or procurator), I., 46, 48; II., 215; Webb, 59, 74d. *Cf.* the fendis proctours.—Wycl. (M.), 421. For £10 paid to Bishop Swinfield's proctor at Rome ad defensionem causarum Domini, see Webb, 127, 203, 204.
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- Sorrel, Fr. Saure, Lat. *Corellus* (reddish, chestnut-coloured), II., 237 n., 438; IV., 143 n., 182, 238; H. 773.
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